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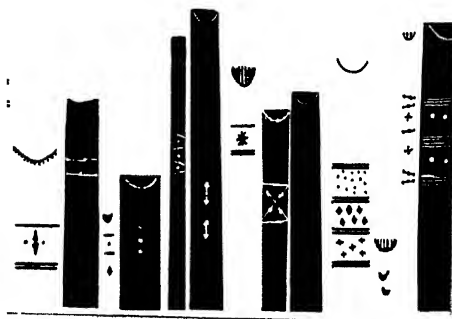
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A HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT SCULPTURE

BY
LUCY M. MITCHELL

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

INCLUDING SIX PLATES IN PHOTOTYPE

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THE AGE OF SCOPAS, PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPOS;
OR,
SCULPTURE DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
FROM ABOUT 400 TO ABOUT 323 B.C.

BLADERY 1899

CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND EARLIEST ATTIC SCULPTORS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Changes in Attica at the Beginning of this Period.—Political Decline of Athens.—Condition of Attica during Time of Alexander.—Private Patronage.—Attic Sculptors in Foreign Parts.—Influence of Peloponnesian War.—New Elements in Society and Art.—Change in Character of Subjects.—Susceptibility of Greeks to Impressions through the Eye.—Sculptors' Grasp of the Spirit of the Times.—Kephisodotos.—His Works.—His Activity in Arcadia.—His Eirene.—Greater Emphasis of Emotion than in Pheidian Age.—Other Sculptors.

COULD we be carried back to that time about the close of the fifth century B.C., when such great Athenians as Pheidias, Sophocles, and Socrates had passed away, we should find younger men rising to fill their places in carrying on the great mission of Hellenic culture. We should find, that, as the fourth century dawned, the gifted sculptor Scopas was gaining fame, and that Kephisodotos, the father of the celebrated Praxiteles, was already in his prime, while his greater son was probably in his infancy.

Although through such men the chain remained unbroken uniting the earlier to the later times, yet great changes had come over the Greek state and people, which should leave their impress on art. A destructive war between 431-405 B.C. had ravaged the land. Before its dire shadow passed over the sunny valleys of Greece, Athens, as we have seen, had been the proud ruler of the seas, the political, as well as artistic, centre of the Greek world. Sparta, watching her course with ill-disguised jealousy; Corinth hating her, because Athenian war-ships hemmed in her commerce; Doric Thebes, finding but little sympathy with Ionian Athens; and even far-off Syracuse, joining its voice in the murmur raised against her,—united in bringing on this terrible war; its devastating campaigns raging for full thirty years over unhappy Greece. Athens was humbled; her once proud navy shrank to mean proportions; and, with the loss of their head, a spirit of individual self-assertion was nursed among the dissevered states. In the midst of her other troubles, Athens was visited, during the Peloponnesian war, by the frightful plague, which counted among its victims many of the greatest and best men, including Pericles himself. These calamities could not fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the survivors. Agony and despair engendered a spirit of selfishness. Through dread of contagion, the well frequently neglected to care for their dying friends, and even omitted

the rites of burial, held to be most sacred and essential by all the Greeks. Thukydides laments,⁸¹¹ "The manly race of old Athens is swept away, and a worse one left behind." But this race, thus despised by the older generation, gave birth to men who developed many powers which had hitherto lain dormant, and in what concerned patriotism, eloquence, philosophy, and art, proved themselves to be no unworthy heirs of the former glory. Different, indeed, from the men of the older time is the galaxy that now meets us; but even the mere recital of the names belonging to this century — Plato, Lysias, Lycurgos, Demosthenes, Epameinondas, Pelopidas, Isocrates, Æschines, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippos — dazzles the imagination with the brilliancy, originality, and great worth of the characters marshalled before the mind's eye.

Outward circumstances had radically changed with regard to the patronage of art in its great centre, Attica. After the costly and humiliating war, the Athenian state remained a mere shadow of her former self. Her stores of gold and silver, which had seemed inexhaustible under the wise rule of Pericles, were gone. The islands and cities which had paid their annual contributions into her coffers, now refused their tribute; and her colonies, another important source of wealth, were in the hands of her enemies. The history of Athens from 400 B.C. was no longer the record of successful aggression, but of a struggle to maintain her own independence. Her patriots, indeed, sought to raise her to the place she had once occupied: but their efforts were spasmodic; and, after each vain endeavor, the city sank back, politically weaker than before, and more prone to give herself up to pleasures, abundantly provided by wily politicians, who were in search of public favor. Although Conon, in the early part of the century, restored somewhat of Athens' glory; yet nothing could save her, as well as her sister states, from the threatening northern foe, Macedonia, which from being obscure and despised, as without the pale of civilization, came, by the middle of the century, under Philip's guidance, to the very fore-front of history, and in the memorable battle at Chaironeia, Aug. 7, 338 B.C., completed the subjugation of the other states. Philip, however, had been educated as a Greek; and, while he despoiled other cities, he was lenient to Athens, the hearthstone of Hellenic culture. Lycurgos, the friend of Demosthenes, then improved the state of the treasury, and was able to complete buildings commenced, beautify the Theatre of Dionysos, and put up in it statues to great Athenian poets of the past. With the accession of Alexander, 336 B.C., an era of foreign conquest was inaugurated. His campaigns into the far East fill up the time till his death, 323 B.C., ushering in a new age. From the accounts of contemporary history, we are wont to imagine Athens, during this latter part of the century, as utterly servile and cringing to the different tyrants, and given over to pleasures; but inscriptions, recently discovered at Athens, record energetic and manly action, giving us reason to take with many grains of allowance the gloomy records of the character of this time.⁸¹²

Much impoverished as a state, and lying humbled before jealous enemies, Athens could, through this ever-changing century, offer little stimulus to great and monumental works, such as the costly temples and chryselephantine statues of the Periclean age, thank-offerings from a grateful people. But there were still great riches among her private citizens, and that exquisite love for the beautiful still breathed which ennobled every thing it touched. While, in older times, the abodes of even great men like Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pericles had been simple, and the temples alone ornate and costly, now the rich vied with one another in the magnificence of their dwellings, provoking the bitter reproaches of Demosthenes. That the private patronage of sacred art was also on no mean scale, appears from the upbraidings of the orator Isaios directed against Dicaiogenes, who allowed inherited dedicatory offerings, valued at three talents (thirty-five hundred and forty dollars), to be left scattered about unconsecrated in the studios.⁸¹³ The numerous and stately tombstones preserved to us from this time, on which appear forms of heroic size, also witness to this generous private encouragement of the sculptor's art, even in its humbler walks. But Athenian sculptors were not forced to look for commissions to private citizens alone. Outside of Athens there was great activity. Thebes, in its short period of glory under Epameinondas; and the Peloponnesian state of Messene, which flourished under Theban protection; with Megalopolis, and other cities springing up on its soil,—required their services. Besides, in Asia Minor there was no longer any thing to fear from the now declining Persian power; and great riches were accumulated by its rulers and people, who were strongly Greek in character and tastes. Moreover, by this time the ascendancy of Athens in art must have been acknowledged throughout the Greek world.

Such facts, doubtless, explain the custom prevailing among well-nigh all the Athenian sculptors of this century, of leaving their city, and finding employment abroad. Thus Athens, by her very misfortunes at home, was made to share with the outside world of the best of her great inheritance. The monuments of this age, in gold, bronze, terra-cotta, or marble, whether in Bœotia, the remote Crimea, or Asia Minor, all witness to the influence of her beautiful art and spirit, to which even the stern Doric Peloponnesos does not seem to have remained insensible.

The Peloponnesian war, which had thus revolutionized Athenian art in its outer circumstances, affected it still more deeply as the mirror of the innermost character of the people, now greatly changed. The repeated and radical revolutions in the state could not but shake the popular faith in the old constitution; and the great misfortunes, culminating in the dissolution of the old order, tempted each man to look to his own interests, regardless of the public weal. In his complex character, Alkibiades, of the latter half of the fifth century, well prophesied the fickle versatility and brilliancy of the people of this time. Impatient of the old ways, his efforts were centred in self-aggrandizement;

but so many generous and noble traits were there in his character, that he was a favorite of Socrates; and his amiability, and capacity to rule, made him the idol of the Athenian people at large. Even in apparel he foretold the luxury of the new time, wearing trailing garments of purple, and carrying a golden shield; while his faultless form was the admired model which inspired many artists.

In religion the people easily came to believe that the gods had deserted them, or even proved false by giving at the oracles responses which had brought disaster in their train. Hence, it is not strange that trust in the older concrete gods became weaker, and that beings of a more abstract nature, such as Fortune (Tyche), Peace (Eirene), and Riches (Plutos), came to enjoy equal honors, and that many of the minor gods played a more important part. The Pheidian age, with its sublime ideals and golden colossi of Zeus, Athena, and Hera, has now indeed been left behind; and, from the Olympian heights of majesty and repose, the road slopes downward, but through ravishing vales, among the haunts of men, and scenes of quiet, peaceful beauty, having a charm which is their own. In the former age the individual was merged in the whole; the private weal was subservient to the state: but now the individual man attained complete development, and many a character of rich beauty and symmetry sprang out of the new soil. Broader culture and altered circumstances were favorable to the unfolding of thoughts and forms such as would have been inconceivable during the earlier sublime age. Indeed, this unfolding in society was in keeping with the whole tendency of the Greek mind, which unrolls before us, in its literature, a continual passing from the outer to the inner life, until finally the drama paints, not actions, but the soul-struggles which gave rise to them, finding her strength in the whole play of human passion. Thus slowly, and after many struggles, the old myths were worked over into broadly human outlines: that which once repelled by its crudity and barbarism was made to quiver with noble sentiment, and give utterance to ethical truths drawn from the whole range of human experience. The pathos of sorrow, joy, and despair, and all the other emotions which move the heart and urge to action, press into the foreground. The storms of passion now beat, even over the heights of Olympus; and the gods themselves are seen battling with the tempest. The severer tragedies of *Æschylos* and *Sophocles* yield in the people's preference to the pathetic power of *Euripides*, who tears the veil from before the dwelling of the gods and immortal heroes, and reveals them as human beings like those about him, affected by the varying shades of joy and sorrow, from the wild passion of a *Phaidra* to the desperate broodings of a *Medeia*.

In its outer forms also life had become more agitated. While *Pericles* had always appeared before the assembled people with unruffled mien, and sought to keep their temper quiet, even in the fire of his eloquence, holding his voice

and movements so under control that the very folds of his loosely hanging garment remained unchanged, many coming after him excited the people, and with violent gesticulations strode to and fro before their hearers, vehemently throwing their arms about them. The dignity and reserve characteristic of the earlier day had left its impress on art; but, with the change in the views and habits of society, this older art could have been retained only as a stereotyped and lifeless form. As poetry had assumed a more human character, so, also, sculpture took on more familiar shapes, and, descending from the heights of glory which it had occupied during the Golden Age, held more intimate communion with men in their varying emotions. Fully to appreciate what is expressed in the sublime forms of Pheidian art, fully to enter into their spirit, and the devotion which produced them, something seems to tell us that we must be Greeks. But not so with this art of the fourth century: its ideal conceptions, of rarest freshness and beauty, come to us expressing traits common to all humanity, and appeal to us to-day as strongly as they did to the Greeks of old.

This change in the conceptions of people and sculptors is evident in the choice of subjects, and in the different mode of treatment. Pious offerings were still to be made, no longer, however, mainly to the highest gods, but to those of a more human character. Thus, instead of Zeus, Athena, Hera, and their peers, we meet a fluctuating throng, in which we see the forms of the maternal Demeter, proud Niobe, charming Aphrodite, bewitching Eros, raving Bacchante, and pleasure-loving Dionysos. Here every chord of human feeling is touched; and these Greek forms of more than twenty-two hundred years ago express our joy, our sorrow, and our pleasure. To this changing panorama, with varying charms of mood and feeling, the Attic sculptors of this time added an elegance and a captivating grace of form not met with before, and stimulated by the lighter spirit of the people. After the stern days of the Peloponnesian war, there had sprung up among the Athenians an unwonted desire for what was pleasurable and diverting. This appears from many laws then made, a contrast to the severe heroic spirit of the older age. Even military discipline was relaxed; and armies were disbanded, in order that the soldiery might return to Athens to share in public festivals. The surplus of the state income, which had in former times gone into the war-fund, was now diverted to these festivities; and about 353 B.C. a law was passed, making the proposal, even, to defray war-expenses with this money, punishable with death.⁸¹⁴

How intensely what was pleasing to the eye affected the Greeks, and how ennobling the qualities attached by them to impressions thus derived, it is difficult for us moderns fully to realize; since not actual vision, but purely mental contemplation of the great and good, is with us moderns considered most potent in rousing to noble action. With the Greeks it was, however, far otherwise.

Through the eye they received those impressions by which they were most deeply moved. Thus the sight of the beautiful, they tell us, actually roused noble feelings, and inspired to heroic deeds. Poetry incorporated this mysterious inspiring influence in one of its most exquisite creations, the god Eros. Men like Plato and Demosthenes sought to rouse their fellow-countrymen, not by appealing to deep mental absorption, but to the direct, actual vision of the beautiful.⁸¹⁵ Isocrates praises the dramatic poets; because, as he says, they have brought the weighty myths of the past, not only to the ear, but also before the eye, and attained results which oral warning alone could not have done. That the art of this century, the heir of a most glorious past, should have realized and benefited by the charms of all that appealed to the eye, every monument from that age teaches us.

How the sculptors of this age caught its changed spirit, and with what exquisite grace and nobility they gave expression to the pleasurable in art, will be shown in considering the forms created by Praxiteles and his compeers, whether found in humble vase-paintings, or in imposing temple-statues. In their hands the beautiful, womanly Aphrodite will draw admirers around her, as well as the sublime but stern Hera, or imperious Athena: the mild Apollo will be more gracious, though less imposing, than the supreme Zeus. And yet these later Athenian artists, far from neglecting the ideal tendencies which they had inherited from their fathers, carry them on into wider, richer realms. No harsh realism disturbs the dream-land in which they live. Apollo, singing to the notes of his lyre, is not any individual lyre-player, but the most perfect personification of musical inspiration. Hermes is no youth whom we chance to meet, buried in pleasant thoughts: he is the incorporation of all that is possible of joy and beauty in the soul, caught and made eternal in marble. Thus, while the Pheidian ideals of the highest gods were deserted, this later Attic art was equally ideal in its bent, catching and expressing the momentary or lasting emotions of the soul in varied forms, and so widening and deepening the current of eternal beauty.

As Plato and Aristotle in this century towered above a crowd of minor philosophers, so Scopas and Praxiteles represented the highest attainments of sculpture in Athens; while Lysippos of Sikyon, with his realistic tendencies, is the most prominent figure in the Peloponnesos.

ATTICA.

The master who introduces us to Attic sculpture at the threshold of the fourth century is Kephisodotos, the father of the great Praxiteles, and of noble connections; his sister having been the wife of the honored general, Phokion.⁸¹⁶ Probably as early as 392 B.C. he was a celebrated man. In connection with Canon's victories over the Spartans at Cnidos, he seems to

have executed statues of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira for the Peiraieus, as well as an altar there, described by Pausanias as of very superior workmanship.⁸¹⁷ The Zeus stood holding a sceptre and a Nike, a continuation, perhaps, of the use of Nike employed, as we have seen, by Pheidias in his Zeus and Athena. It is possible that Kephisodotos' Zeus was but the ancestral type of many small standing bronzes, such as one found at Paramythia in Epeiros, and now in the British Museum. In this nude, bearded figure, the raised arm rests on a sceptre; and the other is extended as if to hold a Nike, which tiny figure is now gone. But Kephisodotos, like all his successors, seems to have left Athens for other parts; and it was for the new city of Megalopolis, founded in Arcadia in 371 B.C., and doubtless for its recently erected shrines, that his works, seen by Pausanias, were executed. In the Temple of Zeus Soter in this city, the main deities were by him and by one Xenophon, otherwise scarcely known to us. Here was a seated Zeus in Pentelic marble between a standing city-goddess of Megalopolis and an Artemis Soteira.⁸¹⁸ Again, we find Kephisodotos executing two different groups of Muses for Mount Helicon in Bœotia.⁸¹⁹ Of an orator by him, we only know that he was represented as extending the hand.⁸²⁰

One beautiful group by this master, which was praised by Pausanias, has been recognized by Brunn in a most pleasing copy in Attic marble, in the Glyptothek at Munich (Fig. 191).⁸²¹ The original monument, seen by Pausanias, represented Eirene, or Peace, holding the babe Plutos, or Riches. The appropriateness of representing Peace as holding Riches in her arms pleased the ancient traveller; since, as he well says, wealth can alone be secured under the fostering care of Peace. During the early part of the fourth century, the war-harassed Athenians must have had similar feelings; since, after the battle of Leucas in 375 B.C., the cult of the goddess of peace was renewed with great earnestness. She was then raised from a minor to a very high rank in their faith, regular offerings being made to her, and a rich ceremonial attending her worship; for this it, doubtless, was, that Kephisodotos executed the statue seen by Pausanias in the public place. Athenian coins repeatedly reproduce a stately female figure, holding on her arm a babe; and, by comparison with them and Pausanias' statements, the group in Munich, originally from Italy, was recognized as being an echo of a favorite work of antiquity. Fragments of the child Plutos, recently found in the Peiraieus, show, that, in Greece itself, Kephisodotos' group was also reproduced.⁸²² The marble group in Munich, represented in the cut, will win from the modern observer a loving admiration, even though he be unable to enter into the feeling of the ancient Athenians towards its great original. The meaningless vase, now restored in the child's hand, as may be gathered from the coins, should have been a horn of plenty,—a most suitable attribute for the god of plenty; and the right hand of the goddess should have been clasped firmly

around a sceptre, indicative of her high rank among those who guide the destinies of men. How grand, nay, even sublime, this matronly form, with build and drapery reminding us of the Pheidian age! Even the undulating border, which marks the Parthenon marbles, is evident on her hanging mantle,



Fig. 191. *Eirene with the Child Plutus. Munich. A Copy of an Original by Kephisodotos (slightly restored).*

and indicates that the statue is a copy by an Athenian master. The manner in which the arms come out from among the folds of the drapery, and the sharpness in the treatment of the hair, seem, moreover, to show that the original was in bronze. But, while there is so much in its build to remind us of the glorious creations of the Pheidian age, additional elements of soul-feeling, here brought to exquisite expression, witness to the dawning of that age when every sweet and subtle emotion should be caught, and made enduring in forms of universal and ideal meaning. Here the severer goddess of the olden time is made with more bended head, to look in true motherly love down upon the nursling sitting easily on her arm. With affectionate baby-gesture, he stretches his little hand toward her face, and is no longer rendered as a mere attribute held on her hand, as was the case with the Nike held on the hand of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, and other older statues.

Still one other group, recorded as the work of Kephisodotos, must have incorporated a kindred thought, — fraternal affection. It was a Hermes

caring for his little brother, Dionysos, or, as Pliny says, "*Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens.*"⁸²³ Thus, in all that we know of Kephisodotos, he worthily introduces us to the new time, showing us in his spirit the passage from the contained grandeur of the older, over to the beaming, soulful life of the younger, age. The very way in which his Eirene bends her head, more deeply than do older figures, indicates the change that was going on. In the

archaic tombstone relief of the villa Albani, described p. 234, the same general motive is treated ; but the mother's head is erect, and we are obliged to imagine much into the scene. From the Pheidian age we have no kindred representation to compare with this work of Kephisodotos, in which even in cold marble the bended head eloquently and fully speaks a mother's love and tender care, requiring no aid from the imagination, and being the forerunner, as Brunn beautifully expresses it, of "the age of drooped heads."

A few men of minor fame were contemporaries of Kephisodotos, but of their works we know only the names. Xenophon worked with him in Megalopolis, and with the aid of a Theban, Callistonicos, executed for Thebes a Tyche, or goddess of fortune, with the child Plutos on her arm,—a subject evidently akin to Kephisodotos' Eirene.⁸²⁴ Of an Athenian, Eucleides, who must have been active soon after 372 B.C., we know, that for the temple at Bura, in Achaia, which, with its sacred images, was destroyed by earthquake, he executed the new objects of worship, statues of Pentelic marble, representing Demeter, Eileithyia, Dionysos, and Aphrodite, the two latter without drapery ; and, for Aigeira, a throned Zeus, likewise in Pentelic marble.⁸²⁵ Polycles, a fourth Athenian artist of this time, is known only as having made a portrait of Alkibiades.⁸²⁶

But the Attic art of this century owed its fame, not to Kephisodotos, and to this knot of men of his time, but to their greater contemporary, Scopas, and to Kephisodotos' own son and scholar, Praxiteles.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRAXITELES AND HIS WORKS.

Praxiteles. — His Versatility and Productiveness. — Probable Duration of his Career. — His Hermes at Olympia. — Description of the Statue. — Comparison with Other Works. — Style of this Work — The Babe Dionysos. — Resemblances to Kephisodotos' Eirene. — Group of Silen and Dionysos. — Evidence of Advance in Composition. — Praxiteles' Works in Athens. — His Satyr, "Marble Faun." — Similarity to Hermes. — Praxiteles' Works in Megara, Bœotia, and Phokis. — Eros — Statues in Other Places. — Aphrodite of Knidos. — Head from Olympia. — Apollo Sauroctonos. — Reports concerning Other Statues. — General Characteristics of Praxitelean Art.

PRAXITELES was born in the Attic *demos* Eresidai, and is said by Pliny to have lived in Olymp. 104 (360 B.C.). But it is probable that his artistic activity commenced somewhat earlier, and lasted until into the time of Alexander the Great.⁸²⁷ He must in his youth have felt, not only the influence of his father, Kephisodotos, but also of Scopas, this Parian master having come to reside in Athens about 375 B.C.⁸²⁸ If we are to believe the reports of the ancients, the productiveness and versatility of Praxiteles' genius were scarcely paralleled. Partly in view of the great number and variety of his works, — nearly three-score being mentioned as from his hand, — recent criticism has attempted to make out the existence of an older Praxiteles, grandfather to the celebrated master.⁸²⁹ To this older Praxiteles, assumed from a name Pasiteles, occurring in Pausanias, have been attributed many groups which otherwise were believed to be by our Praxiteles of the fourth century. This practice of doubling the old masters is shown, however, by Brunn to be a dangerous expedient, which forces literary tradition; and hence, until more light is thrown upon the matter, it is safer to accredit Praxiteles with the fame he enjoyed.⁸³⁰

His works were originally set up in different parts of Greece and Asia Minor, but many of them were removed to Rome in later times. From their wide distribution, it is inferred that the life of Praxiteles, like that of the most of his fellow-sculptors, was spent partly in his native land, and partly in the opulent satrapies on the opposite shores of the Ægean. His early youth was probably passed with his father in working for the Peloponnesos. When Epaminondas conquered the Spartans in 371 B.C., and sought to raise up the oppressed states of that peninsula, a new Messene was built for the returned Messenian exiles; and, in Arcadia, Megalopolis, worthy of its name "the

great city," and Mantinea, were now restored. In Megalopolis, Praxiteles' father, Kephisodotos, as we have seen (p. 433), was active; and it is most probable that temple-statues, in the neighboring Mantinea, were executed at this time by Praxiteles himself. His later career, occupied with greater tasks for Athens, Boeotia, and Asia Minor, there are no means of tracing with definiteness; nor are we told how long he lived; but from a recorded fact, that his friend, Phryne, defied Alexander after the destruction of Thebes (335 B.C.),⁸³¹ it is probable that Praxiteles also witnessed the crushing blow given to the liberties of his country by Philip, in 338 B.C., and that he even watched the young Alexander mount to power, and become the conqueror of the world. There is, however, no evidence, that, like some of his compatriots, the then aged Attic master was ever in the service of this Macedonian monarch, or of his successors.

From his long life of richest creative activity, one genuine original has, happily, been given back, after centuries of slumbering oblivion in the bosom of the earth,—the Hermes with the Dionysos babe, discovered at Olympia (Selections, Plate VIII.).⁸³² When Pausanias visited Olympia, nothing seems to have interested him more than the very ancient Temple of Hera, containing the casket of Kypselos, and many very ancient figures in gold and ivory of gods and goddesses after the stiff old idol style. After the description of these objects he laconically adds, "In later times, other works were also consecrated in the Heraion, — a Hermes of marble: he carries the babe Dionysos, and is the work of Praxiteles."⁸³³ Long after Pausanias and after the fall of the ancient classic world, barbarian settlers wrought changes at Olympia, to suit their own convenience. In the rear part of the temple a wine-press was arranged, traces of which were found by the German excavators; and in the front was built a brick wall. On the morning of May 8, 1877, while the excavators were busy among the ruins of this wall, they came suddenly, among the bricks, upon a marble statue, a little more than life-size, and lying before a broken pedestal. To their great joy, the face, unlike that of most antique heads when raised, was found perfect (Fig. 192). Their feverish delight can scarcely be imagined, when, on examination, they recognized the very statue described by Pausanias as executed by Praxiteles. Precipitated from its pedestal, the figure seems to have fallen first upon the right arm, which is broken away, and then over upon its left side, thus fortunately preventing the head from coming into sudden and disastrous contact with the ground. The bricks used in building the statue into the Byzantine wall had served as a further shelter; and, although a fine moss has gathered upon the cheeks, in the main the exquisite surface is unmarred. The left hand, a model of manly strength combined with youthful freshness, is beautifully preserved, and is closed, doubtless, about some attribute, now gone, — perhaps Hermes' short *kerykeion*. The god's shapely marble legs from below the knees, and a part of his pedestal, had been ruthlessly broken off and dragged

away. Happily the right foot, wingless, and girt with a sandal on which are still traces of gilding, was dropped within the enclosure of the temple-columns, and found there only twenty-five centimeters below the surface, trodden into the earth. Its exquisite shape, which seems to swell with the softness of flesh under the graceful sandal; the finely proportioned toes, the middle one dominating over the others; and its delicate surface, making it, perhaps, the most beautiful foot preserved to us from antiquity, — sharpen our desire to obtain the missing parts of the statue, such as, for instance, the god's right hand once raised on high; but, the excavations being terminated, it is doubtful whether we shall ever be favored with a sight of these lacking members. Rude hands had likewise torn away the babe Dionysos from Hermes' arm. Its head was found dropped on a pile of rubbish about eighty meters distant from the temple, and its little body built into a wall in another and remote part of the *altis*; while the tiny draped legs were left to cling to their seat on the god's strong arm, and one little hand to press his shoulder. But enough remains to make the idea and movement of the group unmistakable.

In the faith of the Greeks, Hermes was not only the messenger of his father Zeus, speeding over land and sea to do his bidding. He rested in his course among the fields, rich with cattle; and they flourished by reason of his presence: or, laying off his mantle and winged cap, he exercised his lithe members until they became the ideal of physical force, agility, and skill for every Greek youth in developing his own powers. But, besides, Hermes delighted to care tenderly for the little ones, and, when robbed of their parents, was present with speedy relief. So he saves the babe Asclepios, plays nurse to the young Heracles, and when Semele is consumed by the thunderbolts of Zeus, and her babe, Dionysos, appears among the Olympic deities, an unwelcome sight to Hera, it is Hermes who speedily plans safety to his helpless infant brother, and, seizing him, carries him swiftly away to the Nymphs, who give the young god a mother's love, and in the lively company of satyrs, silens, and bacchantes, train him for his future mission as god of wine and merriment.

In this priceless statue of softest-glowing Parian marble, Praxiteles shows us this Hermes devoting himself to watching over his little brother, with whom, as is clearly the thought of the group, he merrily plays. On a strong tree-trunk Hermes rests his left arm, where sits the babe. Did the god in the raised right hand once hold out to the child a bunch of grapes? or did his hand rest on a long *thyrsos*, as we might be tempted to think from the analogy of gems and the like?⁸³⁴ The fact that both shoulders are on one level seems to indicate that the right arm did not thus rest, but raised something; since a support would have caused the right shoulder to sink below the level of the left one. Holding something up in mid-air seems also indicated by the extended muscles and swollen veins.⁸³⁵ By a natural motion, the god bends his head towards this raised arm, the direction of which must have broken

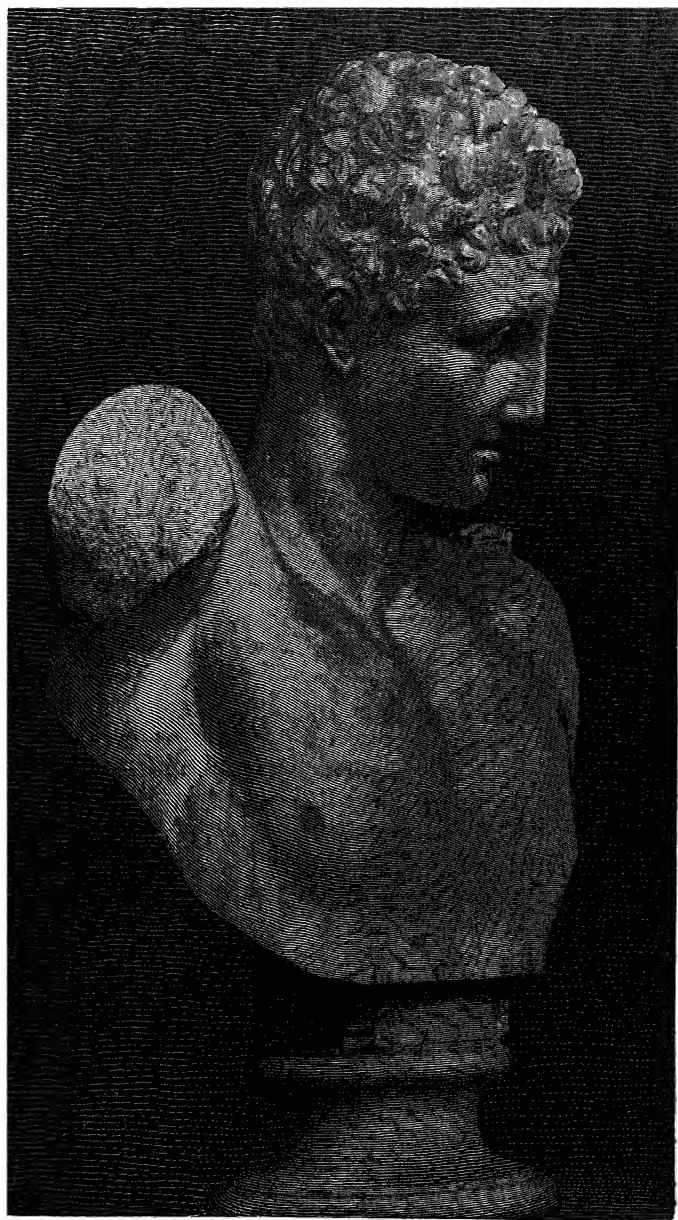


Fig. 192. Head of the Hermes by Praxiteles.

beautifully the wavy, swelling line of the right side, and, at the same time, given marvellous grace to the composition. In addition, the expectant, questioning pose of the child's head seems to confirm the idea that Hermes held in his right hand some tempting object, probably grapes, as though he already divined the favorite passion of his baby brother, the future god of wine. With such a raised bunch of grapes, the sculptor Schaper, in Berlin, has conceived the god in his plaster restoration (Fig. 193). It is interesting to see how so distinguished a modern sculptor reconstructs the fragmentary work of one of the greatest of old masters. In this restoration, however, the sweep of Hermes' right arm, and the omission of his attribute, around which the left hand doubtless closed, seem to swerve from the thought of the original; and the thickness of Hermes' left ankle, and chubbiness of the baby's arm, in contrast to the meagre severity of its antique body, might, with advantage, have approached nearer to the spirit of the Greek original.

In the fragmentary original at Olympia (Selections, Plate VIII.), we see the little one, full of childish enthusiasm, almost spring from the strong arm on which he sits, supporting himself by pressing with the right hand the brother's strong shoulder. Tipping his head, he looks up into the face bending over him, and must have reached out his left hand beseechingly for the tantalizing fruit. Thus, on one side, the grapes nodding temptingly, but out of reach, and, on the other, the importunate child, draw the beholder's thought and attention back and forth, forming a charming side-play to the main subject, the god Hermes himself, whose gaze, absorbed in dreamy, pleasant thought, passes beyond his charge.⁸³⁶ But Hermes' face, so full of gentleness and possibilities of affection, with which seems linked a quiet, lurking merriment, seen especially about mouth and eyes, shows that he cannot have forgotten his little brother. For a moment, with youthful roguishness, he tantalizes the impatient child; but, at the next, we feel sure his look will fall upon the restless little pleader, even now in his thoughts, and the grapes be lowered to the tiny, outstretched hand. We see by all this that the emphasis is laid upon Hermes, here the principal god. Quietness in the composition of the group is thus preserved; while the momentary withholding of the gift from the child is full of promise for his future gratification, and gives continuity of thought to the action. By this treatment, moreover, how beautifully are contrasted the restless eagerness of the child, and the noble quiet of his divine brother, doubtless the object of veneration. How deep and tender the thoughts expressed! Watchful love, childish confidence and glee, revelations, as it were, of the sweetest and noblest in human nature, here appear in forms combining strength with exquisite grace. On Hermes' curling locks, which are of a darker tone, indicating the presence of color, there once rested a wreath, perhaps of metal, as appears from a depression in the hair. The wonderful boldness, almost sketchiness, with which the hair is executed, may at first

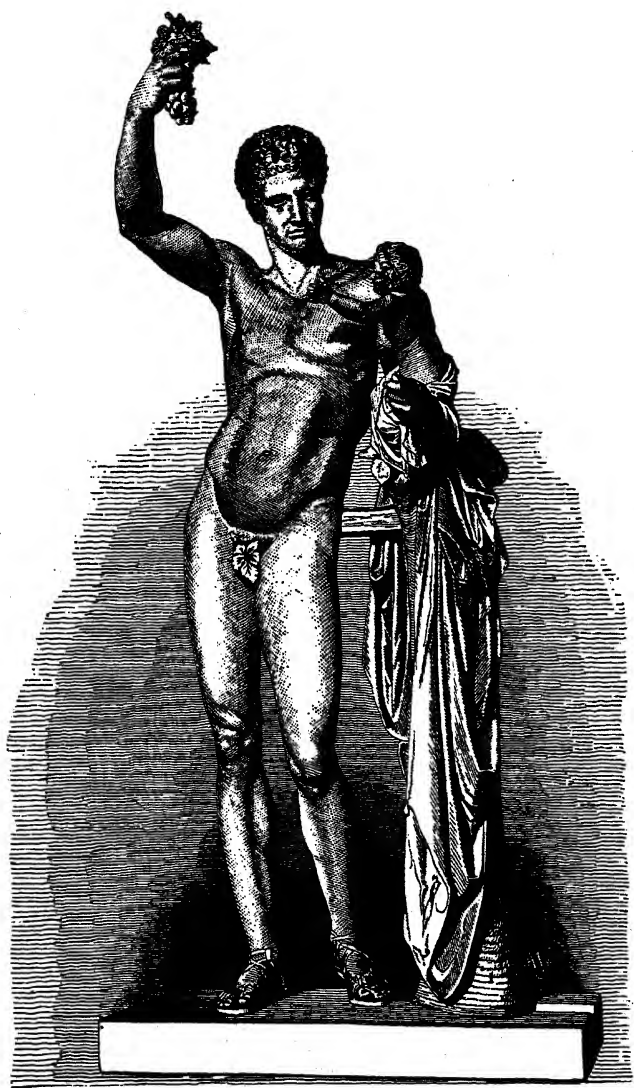


Fig. 193. Restoration of the Hermes by Schaper. Berlin.

sight seem careless; but this very free treatment brings out the subtle, smooth texture of the skin in a beautiful manner peculiar to marble. Indeed, throughout the statue, the master's power of making this material speak its mellow language is apparent, and confirms a favorite, if exaggerated, statement of the ancients, that Praxiteles surpassed even himself in the handling of marble.⁸³⁷

As throughout the development of ancient Greek art, each master leaned on those who had gone before, using traditional forms, but continually ennobling them; so between this exquisite face and that of the Myronesque athlete, dropping oil in his hand, described on p. 295, a striking resemblance has been discovered.⁸³⁸ But in this face of Hermes, the god of the athletes, Praxiteles has clothed with new beauty the more physical conception of the older master, having made the oval longer and more graceful, set the eyes more deeply, and cast over the whole a delicious veil of soulful interest and absorption, unseen in the face of the oil-dropping athlete, as a comparison of casts of the two strikingly shows. Across the Hermes' noble forehead passes a thoughtful line, dividing a strong projection, most prominent over the nose, but disappearing in the eyebrows. The eyes, deeply embedded beneath the brows, at once bewitch us. Their upper lids arch proudly; but the lower ones, as if preparing for a smile, glide gently up on the ball in liquid lines of almost feminine grace. Most fortunately, the nose is preserved in its perfect lines. A comparison with the restored and sadly disturbing nose of the Venus of Melos will show what a piece of good fortune it is that we have one perfectly uninjured on an original Greek statue, and that statue the work of Praxiteles. Other lines, producing beautiful effects, are those from the outer corner of the eye to the ear. The temples, instead of swelling outward, and forming a broad setting for the eye, as in the representative Teutonic face, here retreat directly. Most characteristic in this face are the quivering lines of the mouth, ready at any moment to break into a smile; and the playful dimple in the chin. The neck is columnar, and the shoulders broad and masculine, as becomes the sturdy athlete; but the graceful bend of the body, caused by the god's leaning on the tree at his side, brings out curves at the hips which tone down severity in this manly form. Strongly pronounced muscles are seen throughout, and yet the gently flowing skin over all melts the whole into rare harmony. Thus, while approaching in grandeur the Olympos of the Parthenon (Fig. 158), this Hermes far surpasses it in bewitching beauty. Only above the right knee and in the massiveness of the shoulders is there apparent any of the lingering severity of earlier art. But, strangely enough, the back of this otherwise perfect statue has been left unfinished. The chisel-strokes, varying from very fine to broad and deep ones, show the different stages of the work. How to explain this strange fact still remains a puzzle. The statue stood between the second and third columns from the temple entrance, its back towards the dark wall;

and it is possible, that, in view of this lack of light, it was left thus incomplete. But even these unfinished parts are of interest, as teaching us that Praxiteles used the same-shaped tools as those employed by sculptors of to-day.

To the quiet nude form of Hermes the master has wrought a wonderful contrast, by the drapery hanging over his arm, and replete with broken lights and shadows. How different from the treatment of the Parthenon drapery is this of the god's mantle, dropped carelessly at his side! The fluted edge has disappeared, to give place to a border sewed in with regular seam by skilful hands; and the simplicity of the former folds has given place to intricacy and almost superabundance of details, which seem well-nigh photographic in their truthfulness. In the Parthenon sculptures, the large folds pass one into the other without those sharp and angular breaks which are caused by the natural weight of the material when left to fall loosely. Such breaks, or eyes (*occhi*, as they are called by the Italians, and well illustrated in Durer's drawings), appear, as the rule, in Hermes' drapery, showing a conscious and thorough departure from the older, simpler treatment. Besides, the surface is enlivened with innumerable wrinkles, enhancing its intensely real character, and heightening still more the beauty of the rounded and gently flowing lines of the god's strong form.

But what a contrast to Hermes' well-proportioned frame, soulful face, and natural hair, is the babe Dionysos. Although, as compared with the god's mature shape, the child is disproportionately small; yet his form does not express early infancy. In nature the head of infancy is large as compared with the body; but here it is small, and covered by archaic regular locks, falling in even lines from the crown, and bound about with a band near the forehead. The face is childlike, but has not the chubby, fat cheeks of babyhood. Besides, the form is firm and muscular, like that of adults, and the drapery about the limbs like that worn by older gods. Altogether, in this babe, form, face, and drapery are ungainly and quaint. These peculiarities involuntarily call to mind a similar feature of early Italian art, in which the beautiful Madonna is often coupled with a Christ-child of crude and archaic form. Even Raphael's Christ-child, in his early pictures, does not reach the tender, perfect bloom of the babe in his later works, as in the Della Sedia, or the Sistina. How to explain similar peculiarities in the Hermes group, and still have it keep the high place it has won in our affections, Brunn best teaches us by tracing with masterly hand the gradual unfolding of Praxiteles' genius.⁸³⁹ He reminds us, that, while we are rapt in wonder before Raphael's Sistina, we do not forget his Sposalizio; and that, indeed, by some, the budding, tender, timid beauty of the Sposalizio is preferred to the riper perfections of the master's later works. Thus, Brunn believes, that, in this Hermes, many reminders of what had gone before combine with a new and peculiar beauty to show us the work of Praxiteles' youth, before his genius had fully enkindled with new fire the thoughts and forms

received from the past. It was, doubtless, during the time while his father, Kephisodotos, was employed at Megalopolis, that Praxiteles put up temple-statues in the neighboring Mantinea. In the Temple of Asclepios was his marble group of Leto and her children, surmounting a pedestal, on which was Marsyas playing a flute, and a muse; and, for the Temple of Hera, he erected a seated statue of that goddess between Hebe and Athena.⁸⁴⁰ The similarity in the description of this latter group to that of one by Praxiteles' father at Megalopolis, a seated Zeus between Tyche and Artemis, goes to confirm the belief that these must have been works of Praxiteles' youth. And that, at the same time, he should also have executed for the neighboring Olympia the Hermes group, is most probable, especially as there are no indications that he was ever again in the Peloponnesos, his energies later having been employed for other parts of the Greek world. Moreover, Praxiteles' Hermes, caring for the babe Dionysos, calls to mind the fact, that the same subject had been treated by his father, described by the Roman Pliny as "*Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens*." Most clearly does a comparison of Kephisodotos' Eirene and Plutos child (Fig. 191) with the son's group, Hermes and the babe Dionysos, show how much Praxiteles owed to his father. The father, departing from the traditional mode of placing the tiny attributive figure on the hand of the main figure, grouped the two intimately. His Eirene cares for her little attendant as any mortal mother would do; and the child sits on her arm, putting its hand up affectionately to her face. But the babe is still so small as strongly to suggest archaic works. Moreover, he lacks the natural infantile form, and is still draped like older gods. So, likewise, Praxiteles puts the child upon the arm of his Hermes, gives him well-nigh the pose of the Plutos, and drapes his little legs; but the fresh, playful fancy of the youthful master manifests itself in the cheery face of the Hermes, roguishly playing with his infant brother, so strongly contrasted to the motherly Eirene by Kephisodotos. As Raphael in his older works reflected Perugino, so here Praxiteles seems to reflect his father's spirit, but, like Raphael, develops his own originality. Eirene has all the dignity and stateliness of the olden time. She stands erect, holding, without support, the child on her arm. Hermes, however, rests his arm half negligently on the tree by his side, his pose becoming thus easier, though less stately, than that of the Eirene.

We have traced the wrestling of the Greek genius with the representation of the quietly standing form, from the crudest statues, resting primly on both legs, up through the many modifications until we came to Polycleitos' perfecting of the difficult theme. The ancients attributed to Praxiteles still one other step; and that was, the taking away of the firm posture, and making the statue scarcely stand directly on its feet, but lean on a support.⁸⁴¹ Here in the Hermes we see the first step towards such new and graceful poising; for, while the god rests the arm, he does not yet lean fully upon the tree, as appears especially

from the back view of the statue. A step still farther on in this change, appears in the copies of the master's Apollo Sauroctonos (Fig. 194), in which the left hand rests lightly on a tree, the right leg just poising the slender body, and the right hand ready to strike the little lizard creeping up the tree. In this attitude the figure seems as though ready to swing around a pivot formed by arm and tree, every shadow of heaviness being gone.



Fig. 194. *Apollo Sauroctonos*. Vatican.

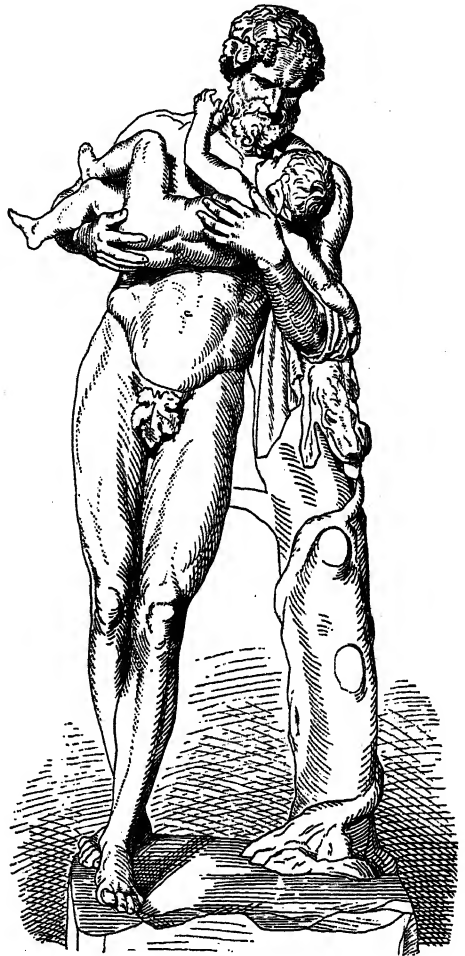


Fig. 195. *Silenus tending the Babe Dionysos*. Louvre.

But there is still one other group, breathing so much of the master's spirit, that it seems, in many respects, the full blossom of the bud which we see unfolding with such delicious freshness in the *Hermes*. This is the group of *Silenus* caressing the babe *Dionysos* (Fig. 195). In the best of the many *replicas*, that of the Louvre, the fond nurse of the baby-god actually leans on the tree by his side, his legs easily crossed. The child is now no longer merely a small adult in form, but a true babe; it wears no cumbersome drapery, and

is in perfect proportion to the manly shape of its guardian. The mutual devotion of Silenus and infant-god are, besides, beautifully expressed in their absorption in one another.

Returning to the Hermes, still another sign of the young master's feeling his way to more perfect things, is found by Brunn in the peculiar character of the drapery. In older times, where a support required, it was naively placed, with no attempt at concealment, directly where it was needed; as we have seen was the case with the pillar supporting the hand of Pheidias' Parthenos. In his Hermes, Praxiteles evidently rebels against such bald accessories, and, by means of the full mantle, tries to hide it. But in the very multitude of its crowded, heavy folds, especially under the arm, and in the extraordinary detail of the surface, there is apparent a surplus of labor such as we might readily imagine a beginner, dazzled by the sight of nature, would expend upon incidental objects, and which are not in keeping with the work of a perfect master, who clarifies and ennobles nature. And so in the copies of Praxiteles' other and probably later works, such as the Sauroctonos and Silenus, we shall see that this superabundance has made way for a delightful simplicity, and that details are subordinated to the main lines; thus bearing witness to the noble moderation of maturer powers. There is, besides, in the treatment of the Hermes, especially about the shoulders, a massiveness, seemingly a reminiscence of older art, not perfectly in harmony with the gentle-flowing impression left by the composition as a whole. If such was the budding spring, what must have been the high summer of Praxiteles' powers?

In the Hermes group, so unquestionably an original by Praxiteles, we have the master's own handwriting, as it were; and, by comparison with it, we are brought nearer to an appreciation of his other celebrated works, which, alas! only exist for us in feeble copies.

Besides this Hermes group, Pausanias saw, in the western part of the Peloponnesos, a marble statue by Praxiteles, representing Dionysos in his temple, near the old theatre of Elis.⁸⁴² Of the statue, we are told, unfortunately, nothing further; but tradition has piously transmitted much concerning the miracles performed by the god during his festivals, when, as was said, wine flowed out of his sanctuary, and mysteriously filled empty vessels locked up within the building.

But Attica, not the Peloponnesos, was the main field of Praxiteles' activity. Some of his works long remained in Athens, and were seen there by Pausanias; many more were removed to Rome, where they enriched the collections of Roman statesmen, adorned their gardens, such as the Servilian, and beautified their sacred places, such as the Capitol. Of very many of these we have only vague, unsatisfactory notices; but a summary of them will open up to our vision the master's productiveness, as well as the variety of the subjects he treated. A group of the Eleusinian deities, Core and Iacchos, in marble, was

seen by Pausanias, an inscription in archaic characters on the wall stating that it was by Praxiteles. As seems to have been a common occurrence in Roman times, one single figure of a group, as in this case Iacchos, attained great fame, according to Cicero's testimony.⁸⁴³ One group by Praxiteles embodied another phase of the myth of Demeter, representing in marble, as Pliny gives it, "Flora, Triptolemos, and Ceres," and was doubtless taken from Athens to Rome, where it stood in the Servilian Gardens.⁸⁴⁴ A bronze group relating to the rape of Persephone, and another which Pliny simply names *Catagusam*, were in Rome, but came, probably, from Athens.⁸⁴⁵ An Apollo and a Poseidon in marble, and doubtless also from Athens, were owned, in Augustus' time, by Asinius Pollio, that consul and statesman who was said to have been most proud of his statuary, in the collection of which he had spared no pains.⁸⁴⁶ A statue of Artemis Brauronia, in marble, by the master, was seen in her shrine on the Acropolis by Pausanias.⁸⁴⁷

Of marble figures representing the minor gods of Fortune and Prosperity, Agathos Daimon (*Bonus Eventus*), and Agathe Tyche (*Bona Fortuna*), we only know that they were in the Roman Capitol,⁸⁴⁸ doubtless having been taken there from Athens, where, in the fourth century B.C., these impersonal gods came to enjoy greater honors than before. They were invoked at the opening of public rural feasts, before the partaking of a meal, and constantly in ejaculatory prayers analogous to the modern expressions, "Good luck to you!" "God be with you!" In later sculptures, the Agathos Daimon appears as a youth, with horn of plenty and *patera* in one hand, and poppy and ears of grain in the other; while the Agathe Tyche is represented as a draped female, wearing the crown of towers (*polos*), and carrying a horn of plenty; but how Praxiteles represented these gods we know not.

His subjects chosen from the merry train of Dionysos, that god specially honored in Attica, were numerous. On the Tripod Street, at Athens, Pausanias saw the statue of a satyr, of which, as the story went, Praxiteles himself was proud.⁸⁴⁹ It is said, that to Phryne he had promised his most beautiful work, but without committing himself as to which he considered to be such. Impatient to obtain the prize, Phryne one day resorted to a wile in order to wring from him his opinion. One of her slaves came running breathless in upon the master with the news that fire had broken out, and consumed many of his works. Greatly agitated, Praxiteles now rushed out exclaiming that all his labor availed nothing if the flames had destroyed his Satyr and Eros. At this juncture Phryne appeared, and quieted him by saying, that in reality no misfortune had befallen him, but that only by this ruse had he been brought to commit himself as to which he considered the most beautiful among his works: whereupon she claimed the Eros as hers, and dedicated it in that god's famous shrine in her native town, Thespiæ. Besides this Satyr in Athens, there was a bronze group by Praxiteles, afterwards in Rome, in which the satyr called Staphylos (grape),

personifying the vine, was so much admired, that it received the title *Periboëtos* (the Famous); but so general are the terms used in its praise, that it is impossible to fix with certainty upon any copy of it. Of the two remaining figures of the group, *Dionysos* and *Methe*, we know nothing.⁸⁵⁰ In Rome, before the Capitol, were marble figures by *Praxiteles*, treating of *Dionysiac* subjects, but only cursorily mentioned by *Pliny* as *Mænads*, *Thyads*, *Caryatids*, and *Sileni*:

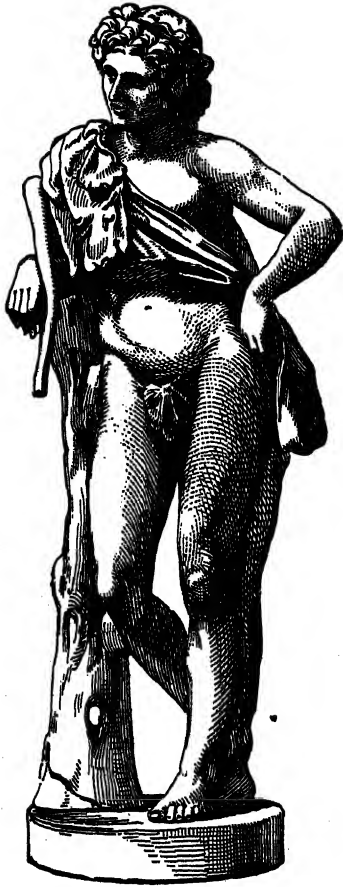


Fig. 198. *Satyr*, probably copied from an Original by *Praxiteles*. (*The Marble Faun*.) Rome.

these doubtless came originally from Athens.⁸⁵¹ Besides these representations enumerated from the *Bacchic Thiasos*, he is said to have executed a satyr which was seen in a temple at *Megara* by *Pausanias*.⁸⁵² *Praxiteles*' frequent representation of the forms of *Dionysos*' pleasure-loving throng has led to a mustering of the ancient monuments of this class, in the hope of finding suggestions of his creations. Among these works is one satyr of such beauty of conception, and having so many points of resemblance to *Praxiteles*' *Hermes*, that there can be little doubt that it owes its inspiration to his genius (Fig. 196). This satyr is found repeated more frequently than any other ancient statue, there existing over thirty *replicas* of it, the one in the Capitol at Rome having been made most familiar by Hawthorne as "*The Marble Faun*."⁸⁵³ Here we see, not, as in *Myron*'s *Marsyas* of the olden age, the muscular, wiry, uncontrolled satyr, so nearly approaching the brute creation, that, even without ears and tail, we should at once divine his place below the human level. Ennobled and beautified in every particular, this satyr stands before us the human personification of the luxurious, dreamy spirit in nature. With *nubris* across his chest, he leans one arm on the tree

at his side, crosses lightly his graceful legs, and, with slightly bended head, seems absorbed in merry thought. But although fully restored, and enjoying the widest fame, this *replica* of the Capitol is far inferior, as are all the rest, to a sadly mutilated torso, in finest *Parian marble*, discovered in the ruins of the palace of the *Cæsars* on the *Palatine*, and now in the *Louvre*. A comparison of this torso with *Praxiteles*' *Hermes*, which it greatly resembles in treatment and pose, has led *Brunn* to consider it a second great original from the master's hand, but one in which the shortcomings of youth all appear mellowed and

ripened into the perfect work of the sculptor's maturity.⁸⁵⁴ The place of its discovery, not any ordinary Roman villa, but the palace of the emperors themselves, also distinguishes it from the crowd of its brethren, and makes it possible that it is indeed an original. Both this torso and the Hermes are in beautiful Parian marble, and, as already said, show remarkable similarity in their technique. Thus, in the drapery of the Hermes, as well as in the satyr's *nebris*, the rasp alone gives the finish, leaving a rough surface which, while contrasting pleasantly with the nude, closely imitates actual nature. There is also a great similarity in the flow of muscles and gentle surface-play of skin, but in the satyr a surer hand and more perfect harmony are everywhere evident. Thus the massiveness of the Hermes appears here, mellowed down into beautiful harmony with the luxurious rhythm of the figure, making this satyr seem the blossom of ripe Praxitelean art. The tree here serves truly as a stanch support; the body, resting upon it, assumes wave-lines with more pronounced curves than does the Hermes; while, in the accessories, what seemed crowded has become simpler and more appropriate, only a hairy *nebris* crossing the chest.

Megara, not far removed from Athens, boasted very many works from Praxiteles' hand. By the fourth century the industrious and politic people of this city had become wealthy and prosperous. "The people of Megara," says a contemporary, the Athenian Isocrates, "from a scanty beginning, having neither harbors nor vines, but cultivating rocks, have come to possess the largest houses of any people in Greece; and though they have but a small force, and are placed between the Peloponnesians, the Thebans, and our own city, still they keep their independence, and live in peace."⁸⁵⁵ In adding new treasures to their ancient temples, it was natural that they should have employed the talent of distinguished contemporary artists. For a very old temple, Praxiteles executed the twelve great Olympic gods; for Apollo's temple, Leto, with Apollo and Artemis; and, for that of Dionysos, a satyr, referred to above,—all of which were in marble. In the Temple of Aphrodite, where were figures by Scopas, there were also a Peitho, goddess of persuasion, and a Paregoros, goddess of consolation, by Praxiteles; and in a neighboring shrine, the temple-statue of Tyche was also by him.⁸⁵⁶

Several places in Bœotia and Phokis, north of Attica, were rich in his works. Perhaps none of these enjoyed a wider fame than those in Thespiæ, the native place of the beautiful Phryne, to whom he is said to have owed much of his inspiration. Here, between an Aphrodite by him and his portrait of Phryne, both in marble, stood his famous Eros, which, as Pausanias tells us, Phryne secured from the master, and then consecrated in the shrines of her native city, peculiarly devoted to that god.⁸⁵⁷ This statue was of Pentelic marble, and winged. The god appeared with his bow lowered in the right hand, and at the same time, as an epigram says, shooting from his eyes arrows

of love. In Cicero's time this Eros was still to be seen in the temple where it had so long been worshipped. Caligula, however, violated its sanctity, and robbed the temple of its god. His successor, the devout Claudius, returned it to Thespiai, where it remained until once again torn from its place by Nero, who placed it in the Portico of Octavia in Rome. During the reign of Titus it fell, with the portico, a prey to the flames. All that Pausanias saw at Thespiai was a copy, made by one Menodoros, an Athenian, to take the place of the great Eros by Praxiteles; and another copy seems to have been owned by one Heius of Messana, who lent it to far-off Rome to adorn the festivities of C. Claudius.⁸⁵⁸ Whether there still exist copies of this Thespian Eros, it is impossible to say; although the famous "genius of the Vatican," and its several *replicas*, may possibly be a remote suggestion of it.⁸⁵⁹ There can, however, be no doubt that Praxiteles represented the god, as we see on vases of his century, in the blooming years of early youth, with golden wings, gentle, pensive, and persuasive, rather than as the impulsive and mischievous babe Eros of later days.⁸⁶⁰ A fragmentary inscription, discovered at Thespiai, shows that the master executed one other work at that place, namely, a portrait, of which nothing more is known.⁸⁶¹

At Lebadeia, west of Thespiai, was a statue by Praxiteles, of the hero Trophonios, in marble, and resembling Asclepios; in Thebes, in the pediments of the Temple of Heracles, eleven of that hero's struggles; in Plataiai a figure of Rhea bringing to Cronos a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes, instead of the dreaded child Zeus; and, in the same place, a colossal temple-statue of Hera in Pentelic marble.⁸⁶² In a shrine sacred to Artemis, at Antikyra in Phokis, to the west of Boeotia, was a marble statue of the goddess, larger than the largest woman, as Pausanias affirms. A quiver was on her shoulder, a torch in her right hand, and her hound by her side. She may be feebly reflected to us in an ancient coin of Antikyra, where Artemis appears with such attributes, and drapery bound about her.⁸⁶³ In Delphi was a statue by him, in gilded bronze, of Phryne, contributed by her to the sacred place.⁸⁶⁴ In Argos was a marble figure of Leto, grouped with Niobe's youngest daughter, Chloris.⁸⁶⁵

But it was not in Greece that the master's most renowned work was to be seen. In a statue of Aphrodite at Cnidos in Asia Minor, antiquity seems to have recognized his masterpiece. This figure in Parian marble of the gracious goddess of love and beauty was so highly prized by the people of Cnidos, that, long after its execution, although oppressed with debt, not even Nicomedes' offer to liquidate it for them could tempt them to part with this work.⁸⁶⁶ Journeys were made from all parts of the ancient world to the unpretending seaport town, now made famous, to look upon its beautiful marble goddess. She stood in a shrine built purposely for her, and surrounded by shade-trees, which formed a favorite resort for admiring strangers and citizens. From a dialogue, put into the mouth of these strangers by Lucian, we gain some idea

of the appearance of Aphrodite in her Cnidian statue.⁸⁶⁷ "The goddess," says one of them, "stands elevated in the middle of the temple, a most perfect form of art in Parian marble, her lips slightly parted as in a gentle smile. Her whole beauty appears, no drapery enveloping her form; but, as though involuntarily, she covers herself with one hand." "So great," he adds, "is the power of the sculptor's art in this form, that the stone, hard and obdurate, seems as though suited by nature to render all the soft and graceful members." After having enjoyed the front view of the statue, the travellers are made to pass to the rear door of the temple, there to gain a view of the back, the perfection of which rouses one of them to an ecstasy of delight. When, in another place, Lucian seeks to paint to a friend the perfect ideal of female loveliness, he says, "Let her head be like that of the Cnidian Aphrodite; the parts about hair and forehead, and the beautiful cut of the eyebrows, like that there rendered by Praxiteles. Let her eye have the soft, swimming expression, the brilliant lustre and charming loveliness, of the eye of Praxiteles' Aphrodite; and her age be that chosen by the master for the goddess." Again, he says, more generally, that this statue must be the perfect image of the goddess as she lives in the heavens; and a whole chorus of epigrams repeat her praise, ringing changes on themes such as these, that Praxiteles must have seen the goddess in person; to Paris himself she could not have appeared more beautiful, and the like.⁸⁶⁸ This Aphrodite, so jealously guarded by the Cnidians before the Christian era, is said to have been removed long after to Constantinople, where it fell a prey to the flames.⁸⁶⁹ All that remain to us, then, are but feeble echoes of its grace, faintly sounding from coins of Cnidos, of a later day, as well as from a few marbles; the most of these, however, we find it difficult to enjoy when compared with the noble, fresh beauty of the Hermes, from which the master's spirit breathes directly upon us in every exquisite detail of thought, face, and form. On the coins, from which the general composition of the statue may be remotely gathered, the goddess stands lightly on one foot, either dropping or taking up her drapery from a vase by her side (Fig. 197). Her nudity, the falling drapery, and the vase of unguents, seem to indicate that Aphrodite was here conceived as in Homeric song, where, in connection with the bath, the Graces anointed this laughter-loving goddess with ambrosial oil,— "such oil as to the eternal gods lends fresh beauty."⁸⁷⁰

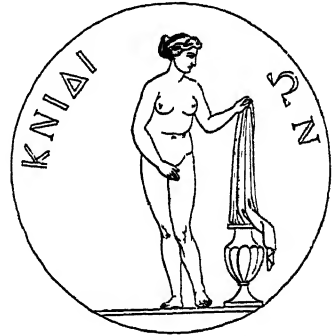


Fig. 197. *Aphrodite on Cnidian Coin.*

Among the hosts of marble statues of a later time which may be remote variations on Praxiteles' theme, the one which most nearly approaches the composition on the coins, and has the most grandeur of style combined with

simplicity, is a marble figure of the Vatican, which is now much disfigured by thin drapery about the legs, thus covered in pursuance of a papal order, and painted to imitate the marble.⁸⁷¹ The face of the Cnidian Venus is, doubtless, hinted to us by a small head, recently discovered at Olympia, and still there, — a work of greater value than the numerous indifferent copies discovered in Italy. This lovely head, which, alas! is fragmentary, we have represented in two views, — the one in Selections, Plate XIX., to the left, showing the goddess as looking gently forward; and the other, the less successful view (Fig. 198), as having her head thrown somewhat back. The face here has the long, oval

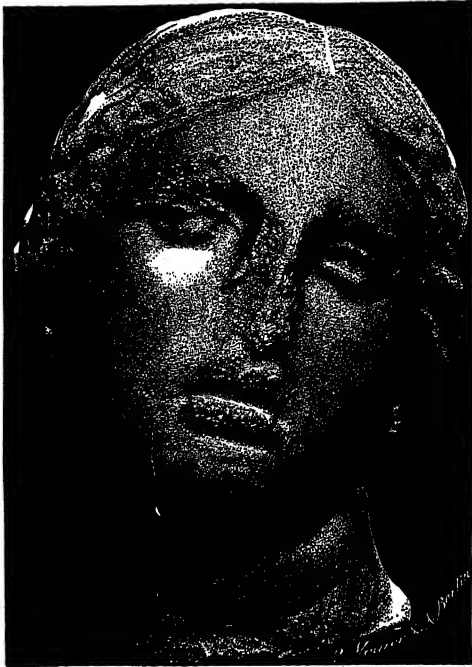


Fig. 198. *Aphrodite. Olympia.*

shape, the high, pointed forehead, and the surface instinct with life, so characteristic of female heads of the fourth century, and is, doubtless, the work of a Greek sculptor of that age, who, judging from many points of resemblance to the *Hermes*, may have worked under the influence of *Praxiteles*. Like so many genuine Greek marble heads, this work, although but half life-size, is made up of several pieces of marble; the back part, now gone, and, consequently, giving the head an unpleasantly low look, was fastened on by a layer of cement still to be seen. The hair, like that of the *Hermes*, is sketchily treated, and forms a beautiful contrast to the skin and eyes, which are rendered with such exquisite finish and airy softness, that we forget their

obdurate material, Parian marble. In the gentle turn of the head, the hair simply but gracefully surrounding the brow, and the eyes full of liquid tenderness, we seem to divine *Aphrodite's* true womanliness, and power of love; and from the lines of the mouth faintly may we imagine what must have been the bewitching smile of the Cnidian goddess.

A veiled marble *Aphrodite* by *Praxiteles*, purchased by the people of the island of *Cos*, was preferred by them to this nude statue of the goddess at *Cnidos*; and in the Temple of *Adonis* at *Alexandria*, on Mount *Latmos* in *Caria*, was still another representation of this goddess by the master.⁸⁷²

At *Parion* on the *Propontis* was a very celebrated winged *Eros* in marble, by *Praxiteles*, said to be gentle and winning in mien, and bearing a dolphin and a flower. From a coin from *Parion*, on which this *Eros* probably appears,

it is evident that the youthful god looked upward, with head turned slightly toward the side, while his left arm was raised.⁸⁷³ From a torso discovered at Sparta, as well as from a statue in St. Petersburg, indicating that there was an archaic rendering of Eros, thus looking to the side, it seems evident, that, in his Parion Eros, the master but ennobled a motive handed down from earlier times.⁸⁷⁴ The raised arm does not appear in the archaic work, and seems to have been, not only an innovation by the master, but also one of his favorite motives, as it occurs in his Hermes.

At Ephesos, we are told, was an altar "full of Praxiteles' works," doubtless reliefs being meant; but besides a general resemblance to the description of an altar by his father, in the Peiræus, we know nothing of this work.⁸⁷⁵ The existence, however, in Asia Minor of such an object, which must have been far more difficult of transportation than single statues, is strong evidence of Praxiteles' sojourn there; but that, as one author states, he was employed with Scopas and others on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, there is little probability.⁸⁷⁶

To Praxiteles, as well as to Scopas, was attributed the creation of the original Niobe group, which was also in Asia Minor; but which of the masters had most claims to the work, antiquity has left undecided.⁸⁷⁷

Still a few other works by Praxiteles, the provenience of which is, however, unknown, are reported to us. Of one of these, a statue in bronze, mentioned by Pliny as a youthful Apollo watching for an approaching lizard, and called the Sauroctonos, or Lizard-slayer, several copies in bronze and marble are preserved (Fig. 194).⁸⁷⁸ There have been many attempts to connect with the religious significance of the lizard this subject, in which Apollo, resting lightly on a tree-trunk, seems to be watching to strike the reptile creeping up the bark.⁸⁷⁹ The lizard, like the snake, was supposed to have oracular powers, and to be fond of music, and was consequently associated with this god of divination and music. But no intimation that the god attempted its destruction is to be found in mythology. It is more likely in keeping with the tendency of the age, to bring the gods down to a human level, and to emphasize their human character, that the Apollo Sauroctonos is simply a transformation of the far-shooting archer-god into a merry, playful lad, trying his skill in aiming at the darting lizard. Even the second-rate copies show how ideally graceful the pose given his simple subject by the master.

Of a bronze Aphrodite seen before the Temple of Felicitas in Rome, and likened in excellence by Pliny to the Cnidian Aphrodite, we only know, that, with other bronze works by Praxiteles, it, with the temple, was consumed by fire in Claudius' reign.⁸⁸⁰ A bronze Eros, winged, and raising in the left hand his bow, is described in high-sounding but vaguely general phrases by Callistratos, who also tells us of a Dionysos in a sacred grove, clad only in a *nebris*, leaning on his *thyrsos*, and although in bronze, yet soft and luxurious in form,

with eye full of dreamy fire.⁸⁸¹ Concerning a goat-footed Pan, grouped with Nymphs and Danae, by Praxiteles, two epigrams are our only witnesses; nor do we know more of the bronzes called by Pliny Pseliumene, Canephora, and Stephanusa, the latter, perhaps, a female figure crowning some one.⁸⁸² A subject attributed to the master, and called by Pliny "*matrona fleus*" and "*meretrix gaudens*," about which so much has been theorized and imagined, is still entirely enigmatical.⁸⁸³ That Praxiteles executed in bronze a *diadumenos*, or youth wreathing himself, we learn from Callistratos; and a tombstone by him was seen by Pausanias, on which appeared a warrior by the side of his horse.⁸⁸⁴ To a chariot by Calamis, he is said to have added a charioteer (see p. 290). Antiquity, like the modern world, was prone to give the name of great masters to works which could not have been theirs; and one of the Horse-tamers on the Monte Cavallo at Rome bears the name of Praxiteles, although there is every evidence that it is a creation of Roman times.

Summoning before us the long line of the master's creations, we find no chryselephantine works by him, but that both bronze and marble were the material employed in his workshop; and we are expressly told, that he was most successful in the use of marble.⁸⁸⁵ We also learn, that his marble statues were finished with color; he himself having considered those colored by the celebrated painter Nikias as superior to the remainder.⁸⁸⁶ How this toning down of the glaring marble was done, we are not told; but wax and heat, or encaustic painting, may have been the method employed to this end. Nor can we, prejudiced in favor of the pale white figures to which we are accustomed, fully understand the harmony between form and color which alone satisfied so great a master as Praxiteles. And, of the subtle taste which must have been exercised by the ancients in giving tones to statuary, we should be in utter ignorance, were it not for faint intimations, afforded by the delicately tinted statuettes found in Tanagra and in Athens. We find, that not athletes or heroes occupied Praxiteles' energies, but the gods themselves. Among these, however, it is not the more august of the Olympic deities to whom, for the most part, his imagination gives corporeal form. Demeter, the ideal mother among the Greek gods; the charming Aphrodite, five times repeated; the persuasive Eros, thrice; and Dionysos and his merry train, continually recurring, — seem to indicate the bent of his genius. Judging from his Hermes, moreover, we may be sure, that, in all, he made the face mirror the soul with rare and subtle power, and that in the forms he gave play to the graceful and agreeable, cultivating a field by which Greek art was greatly enriched, even though it already possessed the lofty works of a Pheidias, the faultless forms of a Polycleitos, and the impassioned productions of a Scopas.

CHAPTER XXV.

SCOPAS AND HIS ASSOCIATES.—THE MAUSOLEUM.

Scopas' Early Activity.—Temple of Athena Alea.—Its Remains.—Their Style.—Other Works of Scopas in the Peloponnesos.—Scopas' Works in Athens and Other Parts of Greece.—Bacchante.—Apollo.—Nereids.—Scopas at Ephesos.—Works carried to Rome.—Associates.—Leochares.—His Work for Alexander and Others.—Figures of Gods.—Ganymede.—Bryaxis.—Timotheos.—The Carians.—Mausolos and Artemisia.—Halicarnassos.—The Mausoleum.—Its Ruins.—Description of Remains.—Varying Excellence of these.—Probable Arrangement.—Influence of these Sculptures on Later Art.—Mausolos' Portrait.—Style of these Sculptures from Halicarnassos.

SCOPAS, somewhat older than Praxiteles, was not a native Athenian, but from the island of Paros, and of artist stock; his father, Aristandros, having been a caster in bronze, who executed votive gifts for the Spartan Lysander, after the battle of Aigospotamoi.⁸⁸⁷ Scopas, like his father, was employed in the Peloponnesos in his early years. His first work, in which alone he seems to have followed his father's technique, was in bronze, — an Aphrodite Pandemos riding on a goat, and seen in Elis by Pausanias.⁸⁸⁸ But a more extensive and celebrated work soon occupied his energies. This was rebuilding and decorating the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which, in 394 B.C., had been destroyed by fire, only a few of its relics having been saved. The young master was doubtless just entering upon his long and honorable career when he rebuilt this temple. Pausanias enthusiastically declares his building to be superior in size and grandeur to all others in the Peloponnesos; and its ruins are still to be seen in the plain of Tegea, near the modern village of Pialé.⁸⁸⁹ With Corinthian, as well as Doric and Ionic, columns, Scopas adorned the sacred edifice. He filled both pediments with sculptures; and within, by the side of the temple-statue of Athena by Endoios, he placed statues of Asclepios and Hygieia. In one pediment, Pausanias saw represented the mythic hunt of the Calydonian boar, believed to have been sent by Artemis to ravage the blooming fields of Arcadia. Accompanied by the Arcadian heroine Atalante, Meleager, according to story, with many heroes from other parts of Greece, laid low the furious beast, first hit by the arrows of Atalante, who received, in consequence, the prize, — the boar's skin. Long preserved within the temple, among its most precious relics, were this beast's skin and tusks; but the latter were at last taken by Augustus to Rome. Of Scopas' pedimental sculptures relating to this hunt,

which proved fatal to one, at least, of the heroes, Pausanias says, "About in the middle is represented the boar: on one side are Atalante, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeukes, and Iolaos, — besides the sons of Thestios, brothers of Althaia, Prothus and Cometes. On the other side of the boar Epochos supports the wounded Ancaios, who lets fall his battle-axe; beside him are Castor and Amphiaraos, Oracles' son; after these, Hippothoös, then Peirithoös, are represented. In the other pediment is seen the combat of Telephos with Achilles, in the plain of the Carcos." From this summary statement, we turn with eagerness to the temple-site, where we find that the ruins are in marble from the neighborhood (Doliana), a stone similar in quality to that from Mount Pentelicos. From time immemorial these remains have served as convenient quarries to the inhabitants, who, as late as 1879, were seen carrying off the finely finished marble blocks to build into their ephemeral dwellings. No scientific excavations have as yet been made; but sculptured fragments found by a peasant, built into a wall near the south-east corner of the ruins, are of the same marble as the architecture of the temple, and must belong to its decoration. Among these are a part of the boar's head, covered with bristling hairs, admirably rendered, and having arrow-holes in the side of the snout; as well as two heroes' heads, — all of which remains were recognized as coming from Scopas' eastern pedimental group.⁸⁹⁰ The human heads are both flattened on one side, as though for attachment to the back (*tympanum*) of the pediment. One of them, now walled into a modern house above the door, represents a beardless warrior, wearing a round helmet like those seen in the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, and has the frontal bone very pronounced, just above the eyes. These are much more deeply set than in the earlier Parthenon figures. They look upward with an expression of trouble, and have the muscles in intense action, giving the face a character of excited feeling, such as we usually suppose to have been developed only in the later or Hellenistic time. Indeed, the sons of Niobe, — usually supposed to be copies of an original by Scopas, — with their slightly knitted brows and quivering mouths, are mild in their treatment as compared with this head, which, in its intensified pathos, has much of the spirit of the sculptures of the Mausoleum, but more extreme forms. The second head, also youthful and beardless, having small ears, a Herculean neck, and deeply set eyes, is now in the museum at Pialé, with the fragment of the boar. Unfortunately, owing to the obstacles thrown in the way by the ignorant village authorities, no casts or photographs as yet have been made of these Scopian marbles; but there is hope that thorough excavations on the temple-site will soon be brought about, to rescue for us Scopas' great pedimental groups.

But other Peloponnesian cities besides Tegea had works by Scopas. In Gortys in Arcadia were marble temple-statues, — a beardless Asclepios with Hygieia; and, in Argos, a marble Hecate by him, grouped with two others in

bronze by Naukydes, and by Polycleitos, jun., of Sikyon; and, in the gymnasium at Sikyon, a marble Heracles, likewise attributed to Scopas.⁸⁹¹

Probably as early as 377 B.C., after having gained a name in the Peloponnesos, Scopas removed to Athens, there to live about twenty-five years, until called to Asia Minor to execute the sculptures of the tomb of Mausolos, king of Caria, who died about 350 B.C. (Olymp. 107. 2).⁸⁹² Of his works in and about Athens, and in other parts of Greece, we know little more than the names, and that they all were in marble. For Thebes he executed an Athena Pronaos and an Artemis Eucleia; for Megara, a group of Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, the latter variations in character of the god Eros; and, for Samothrake, an Aphrodite and a Pothos, doubtless for the new temple built there during the early part of the century, and of which the ruins have been discovered.⁸⁹³ Two Erinyes (Furies) in Parian marble, not, as Æschylos had pictured them in his tragedy, "terrifying to look upon," but beautiful and attractive, were added by Scopas to a statue, probably by Calamis, on the slope of the Athenian Areopagos.⁸⁹⁴ A Canephoros, later owned by Asinius Pollio, a Herme of Hermes, a Hestia between two candelabras, an Apollo in the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and a raving Bacchante, all seem to have been executed originally for Attica.⁸⁹⁵

This Bacchante in Parian marble represented one of Dionysos' female followers in the orgiastic frenzy roused by the god, as it was believed, in his devotees. During the sad, short days of winter, this god of blooming spring and fruitful summer was thought to have fled to remote regions. With rites in which women and maidens alone took part, he was passionately entreated to return. Not in temples, but on solitary mountain tops, in retired valleys, and in the midst of dark forests, these are described by the poets as giving themselves up to the ecstasy of their god. With snakes in their hands, and streaming hair, they leaped wildly about to the screaming flute or dull cymbal, swinging torches, or even members torn from the living beast of sacrifice, and drinking, in their madness, the streaming blood. In art the Athenians had become accustomed, from the Dionysiac theatre, to the sight of such raving Mænads, and, by the excited music of the dithyrambic poets, had been established in their admiration of the ecstasy which they believed the god inspired, and which, according to the grave Æschylos, "permeated the whole being, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head." Euripides had painted for them in passionate verse the Mænads, rushing by in stormy haste, with fine hair flying in the wind, the head thrown violently back, as though not belonging to the neck, and tearing the goat, and drunk with the blood of the sacrificial animal.⁸⁹⁶ But, before Scopas, no one, so far as we know, had represented in marble this subject, in which passionate ecstasy, quivering through face and form, was the inspiring thought. It is probable, that this master's Bacchante was executed for the decoration of the Theatre of Dionysos, completed under Lycurgos about

Olymp. 109. 2. This statue seems to have remained long in Athens, but to have been removed later to Byzantium, there, with many other masterpieces of antiquity, to perish. How successfully Scopas represented the raving Mænad appears from repeated epigrams, as well as from Callistratos' description. Scopas, it was said, not Dionysos, breathed this divine frenzy into the marble. Callistratos vividly describes the statue, saying, that in long and fluttering garments, which left only the arms uncovered, with head thrown back, hair streaming out upon the wind, and swinging, not the *thyrsos*, but the torn kid, ghastly in its color, the Mænad seemed to storm by him, eager for the heights of Kithairon, sacred to the nightly orgies of her god. Among existing monuments, but only in relief, are many which seem remote echoes of such a conception.⁸⁹⁷

Scopas' Apollo, originally in the temple at Rhamnus, with Leto and Artemis by other masters, was carried off by Augustus to Rome, and dedicated to Apollo, on the Palatine, in thanks for the victory at Actium. According to Propertius, the god in this statue appeared singing and playing.⁸⁹⁸ The statue of a laurel-crowned and lyre-playing Apollo in the Vatican was long supposed to be a copy of Scopas' conception of the god; but a comparison of it with coins of Nero shows rather that it has reference to Nero, after his musical period in Greece. Still less do Augustus' coins, struck in honor of Actium, correspond to Propertius' description of Scopas' statue; and hence we are left in ignorance as to the master's personification of music.⁸⁹⁹ Two striking heads of Apollo in the British Museum, having a sentimental turn, with the mouth open as though singing, and a treatment of hair like that in bronze, piled up over the brow, are so like the works of the Hellenistic age in character and detail, that their original inspiration cannot with any certainty be traced back to Scopas' Apollo of the more simple fourth century. Thus our knowledge of Scopas' activity in and about Athens is most fragmentary.

Concerning some of his creations in Asia Minor, we have more definite data. For the Troad, he executed a colossal statue, probably in gold and ivory, of Apollo Smintheus, crowned with laurel-leaves, and standing with one foot on a mouse-hole, out of which peeped a mouse, the sacred animal of the place. The ruins of the temple have been discovered; but, as a matter of course, no trace of the statue was left.⁹⁰⁰

At Cnidos, a Dionysos and an Athena by Scopas are thrown quite into the shade by Praxiteles' Aphrodite, concerning which the reports are much fuller.⁹⁰¹

In Bithynia was originally one of Scopas' great works, which was taken to Rome by Cn. Domitius about 30 B.C., and put up there by the conqueror in a temple to Neptune, raised in honor of his triumphs. This was a work in which, according to Pliny, appeared Poseidon himself, Achilles, and Thetis, besides Nereids riding on dolphins, sea-animals, seated hippocamps, tritons, the

train of Phorkys, and other sea-monsters, all so excellent, he adds, that it well might have been the work of a whole lifetime.⁹²² According to poetic story, when Achilles fell, his mother, the silver-footed Thetis, hearing the tidings, rose with her immortal sea-nymphs from ocean depths, and "mournfully came over the waves the sound of their lament." From the midst of the funeral pyre she snatched his beautiful body, rescuing it from Hades, and, accompanied by all the dwellers of the sea, bore it away to the far-off Isles of the Blest. Her way lay over the waves: and Poseidon himself, and all the dwellers of the sea, joined the wondrous procession, now changed from a funeral to a triumph; for it was not to death, but to eternal life, that they bore the hero. Whether Scopas' sculptures, in which Poseidon, Thetis, and Achilles appeared, represented this procession, we do not know, nor even whether they adorned a temple, or perhaps a colossal tomb, for which the subject would have been most appropriate. From these general descriptions, however, we may infer the ideal bent of Scopas' genius.

In the poetry of all nations, water, and especially that of the sea, is associated with the idea of sadness and restless longing. The moaning of its breaking waves is unceasing. The gentlest breeze ruffles its surface, and it becomes frightful when lashed by the tempest. Unlike the hospitable earth, it takes no abiding form, and bears no refreshing fruits or nourishing grain to gladden the heart of man. In keeping must be the beings chosen to represent it. The development into truly expressive and palpable forms of these subtle ideals which long had lurked in poetry was, no doubt, carried by Scopas to its highest perfection. The constantly recurring type of the Triton, with deeply sunken eyes, sharply drawn eyebrows, and changeful mouth, so suited to these exiles from the earth, whose wailings were heard by the Greeks when tempests beat their rock-bound coasts, was, doubtless, brought to express what it does by Scopas' genius. But these gloomier fancies in ancient art were lightened up by sunny Nereids, as appears by a glance at a frieze now in Munich, but originally from Rome, in which Poseidon and Amphitrite are seen in nuptial procession accompanied by easily riding, merry Nereids, and hollow-eyed hippocamps. Among existing monuments it has more charms than any of a similar character, and may possibly have adorned Cn. Domitius' temple, in which Scopas' famous group stood, it having been discovered in close proximity to the supposed site.^{922a}

At Ephesos, Scopas must also have sojourned. According to Ephesian myth, Apollo and Artemis were born there in the sacred grove Ortygia; and in the midst of its cypress-trees seems to have been Scopas' Leto bearing a sceptre, and Ortygia as nurse, carrying in her arms these twin gods.⁹²³ Of an Ares, removed from Asia Minor to Rome to a temple built by Brutus Gallæus about 133 B.C., we only know that the god of war was a colossal seated figure, and occupied the same temple as a nude Aphrodite by this master, which was

doubtless of great excellence, if Pliny's phrase "antecedens," when comparing it with Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite, refers to quality, and not time.⁹⁰⁴ The seated Ares of the Ludovisi collection, and the newly discovered Aphrodite of the Esquiline, have been thought to be free reproductions of these two works by Scopas. But the Ludovisi Ares, having Lysippian features, and grouped with an Eros playing with his armor, is conceived too nearly in the spirit of the post-Alexandrine age to be referable to Scopas of the earlier time; and the heavy proportions of the Aphrodite of the Esquiline have not the grace met with in the original works of his century.⁹⁰⁵

Besides such tantalizing rumors of works by Scopas, extensive discoveries in Asia Minor bear eloquent testimony to his presence in Halicarnassos, the capital of Caria, where was the tomb of Mausolos, reported to have been adorned by Scopas and his contemporaries. Before taking up the consideration of its sculptures, let us first cast a glance at the masters associated with Scopas at Halicarnassos, and, because younger, usually considered his scholars. Of these, Leochares, an Athenian, seems to have been the most important. In a pseudo-Platonic letter, dated soon after 366 B.C., he is mentioned as an able young sculptor.⁹⁰⁶ A few years later he appears, executing a statue of the orator Isocrates for Timotheos, who must have dedicated it before 354 B.C., the year of his death.⁹⁰⁷ Again we meet Leochares in Halicarnassos with Scopas, about the middle of the century. Later we find him back again in Greece, in the employ of Philip of Macedon. In thanks for the victory at Chaironeia, 338 B.C., that monarch erected a round temple at Olympia, for which Leochares was commissioned to execute statues of the royal family in gold and ivory, those materials which, as we have seen, had hitherto only been used in representations of the gods themselves. For this Philippeion, Leochares executed costly statues of Philip himself, his father Amyntas, mother Eurydike, wife Olympias, and son Alexander, which were seen and described by Pausanias.⁹⁰⁸ The modern traveller may still view, among the ruins of Olympia, the circular foundation of this temple, with the fragments of its graceful Ionic columns, again placed upright, and may examine pieces of its cone-shaped roof with the poppy-head decorations; but, of Leochares' costly statues, he will only see the marble pedestals, which, however, will teach him that all the members of the royal family were represented as standing within the shrine.⁹⁰⁹ Having once entered into the service of the Macedonian house, Leochares continued in it, and, with Lysippos, executed for Crateros, one of Alexander's generals, a bronze group, consecrated at Delphi, which represented the young Alexander involved in a life-and-death struggle with a lion, several dogs sharing in the fight, while Crateros hastened to the assistance of the young king.⁹¹⁰ From pedestals with inscriptions, discovered on the Acropolis at Athens, it appears, that, with one Sthennis of Olynth, Leochares made portrait-statues of five members of an Athenian family, otherwise unknown to history, indicating

what extensive commissions sculptors now received from private individuals.⁹¹¹ Again, Leochares executed a statue of one Eubolos, who is mentioned by Demosthenes. The pedestal of Leochares' statue, with Eubolos' and the artist's name, still stands in the Tripod Street at Athens.⁹¹² Concerning another portrait-statue by Leochares, of a slave-dealer, Lykiscos, who was a butt of the comedy of the time, we know little with certainty; as various readings of the text where the statue is mentioned are possible.⁹¹³

Besides these portrait-works, Leochares also executed many figures of gods. Three times he represented Zeus, — once in a statue, seen long after by Pliny in the Capitol at Rome, and called the "Thunderer," which was declared by that writer to be worthy of the highest praise; again in a statue seen by Pausanias by the side of the very ancient figure of Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis, and probably reproduced on Athenian coins; and still again, in a statue in the Peiraieus, grouped with one representing the *demos* of that seaport.⁹¹⁴ Leochares executed three statues of Apollo, — one for the space before the Temple of Apollo in the Kerameikos, and placed with Calamis' figure of the deity; the second, putting on a *tænia*; and the third, bought for Dionysios of Syracuse.⁹¹⁵ Of an acrolith colossal Ares, attributed to this master as well as to Timotheos, we only know that it occupied a temple in Halicarnassos, the ruins of which were discovered by Professor Newton on one of the heights of modern Budrun.⁹¹⁶

Of one work by Leochares, the descriptions are sufficiently clear to be able to trace an echo in existing monuments. It represented Ganymede, borne aloft by the eagle to become Zeus' immortal cup-bearer. Even the eagle in Leochares' work, according to Pliny, seemed to realize the preciousness of his burden, and to whom he was carrying it, so carefully did the claws, through the drapery, lay hold of the tender body.⁹¹⁷ In the existing representations of the rape of Ganymede, two distinct classes are traceable.⁹¹⁸ In one, the simpler, the eagle seems Zeus' messenger; while, in the other, it represents Zeus himself, hovering caressingly over the lad with lowered beak; the latter being clearly a more sensual conception of the subject, and hence doubtless of later date. To the first class belongs a small and agreeable statue of the Vatican, in which the whole demeanor of the eagle, as he sails upwards with spread pinions, coincides with Pliny's description of Leochares' work, of which it is doubtless a late copy. Here the lad,



Fig. 199. *The Rape of Ganymede, after an Original by Leochares. Vatican.*

with his shepherd's crook, pipe, and faithful dog, is evidently conceived as having rested on a wooded summit, indicated by a sturdy tree (Fig. 199). But the eagle, Zeus' sure messenger, swooping down, has gently caught his prize, and now, with strong pinions spread, carries the beautiful youth upward past the tree, and towards the height where dwells Zeus, and towards which both eagle and Ganymede are looking. The faithful hound, left below, seeing his master disappearing into the ether, bays for him with upturned head. This subject came in Roman times to be a favorite one for monuments of children or youth early snatched away by death; and it is most probable, that the Vatican Ganymede, which has the usual characteristics of that later age, was such a funeral monument. So late a work does not indeed give us the direct handwriting, as it were, of Leochares, but doubtless retains much of his graceful composition and conception of this difficult subject. The marble appears here made free of its ponderous weight; but the artist does not offend us by violating the inherent laws of his material, although thus applied to sculpture.

Bryaxis, another of Scopas' associates in executing the sculptures of the Mausoleum, was a native of Athens, but must have left it, when very young, to go to Asia with his senior, Scopas, about 350 B.C.; since, nearly forty years after that time, we find him executing a bronze statue of King Seleucos, that one of Alexander's generals who took the royal title in 312 B.C.⁹¹⁹ Bryaxis' life must have been spent principally in Asia, only one of his works being mentioned as in Greece, — a group of Asclepios and Hygieia at Megara.⁹²⁰ Besides the one portrait-statue of King Seleucos, just mentioned, all Bryaxis' recorded works are representations of the gods. Of these, five colossal statues were to be seen in Rhodes, a marble Dionysos at Cnidos, an Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, and a Zeus and an Apollo at Patara in Lykia.⁹²¹ More celebrated than these appears to have been Bryaxis' representation of the Greek god Pluton as Sarapis, that Egyptian deity whose worship, soon after Alexander's conquests, spread throughout the Greek world, and whose ideal is supposed to have received artistic form through Bryaxis.⁹²² His Pluton Sarapis was said to have been composed of costly materials, — gold, silver, bronze, steel, precious stones, and even of lead and tin, — and to have been covered with a dark color in order to express the gloomy character of this god of the under-world. It was presented by one of the cities in Asia (according to some Sinope, and to others Seleukia) to Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, in thanks for his assistance during a famine, and was put up by him on a promontory near Alexandria. No certain reproductions of this work are left to us; although it is possible that the *modius*-crowned Pluto of the Vatican, with hair hanging down his forehead, and the gloom of the under-world in his deeply set eyes, may be its remote reflection.

Timotheos, the fourth sculptor engaged with Scopas on the Mausoleum, is less known than his associates. An Artemis by him, set up in Rhamnus with

Scopas' Apollo, was carried to Rome by Augustus, where it received a new head, and was placed with the Apollo in a temple on the Palatine.⁹²³ Of an Asclepios by this master, in Troizen, we have no particulars; nor of the hunters, athletes, armed figures, and others engaged in sacrifice, promiscuously attributed to him by Pliny.⁹²⁴

The undying fame, however, which these sculptors gained, was not by their single works, but by their united efforts in decorating the tomb of the Carian ruler Mausolos at Halicarnassos in Asia Minor.

THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS.

The ancient inhabitants of South-western Asia Minor, the Carians, had mingled with Greek colonists, and, at the opening of the fourth century, were ruled by native princes, acting as vassals of Persia. The Persian king, at that time, was being plotted against by his satraps; and, in the midst of these conflicts, one of the smaller Carian houses quietly worked its way up to occupy an important place in history. Hecatomnos of Mylasa, its head, had three sons, Mausolos, Idrieus, and Pixodaros; and two daughters, Artemisia and Ada, — all of whom, following Carian custom, ruled, brothers intermarrying with sisters, — Mausolos taking to wife Artemisia, and Idrieus, Ada. In 378 B.C., Mausolos became satrap for all Caria; and in a reign of twenty-four years he swung himself up to a most powerful position, not only in relation to the neighboring cities, as shown by many inscriptions found at Mylasa, but also to the Persian monarch even, whom he defied. He spread his rule over Lykia, the inner Meander valley, and Northern Asia Minor, to say nothing of the Greek islands along his coasts, his intrigues being directed even against Athens.⁹²⁵ Besides, he greatly increased his fleet, and protected the commerce of the civilized world, by driving the pirates from the high-seas. So wisely did he husband all the resources of his state, that he was reputed to have gathered treasures equal to those of Croesus. His former capital, the inland town of Mylasa, was now exchanged for Halicarnassos, a town of Greek colonists, who had nestled timorously on an island and along the shore. Here, from point to point, around the crescent-shaped bay, he laid out streets and squares in sumptuous Ionic style. Vitruvius' record of the admirable architectural plans of Mausolos is confirmed by the ruins still sweeping in a vast semicircle around the bay, and laid bare by Professor Newton in his excavations.⁹²⁶

At one end, above the sacred, time-honored fountain Salmakis, was erected a temple to Hermes and to Aphrodite, and, at the other, the regal palace, overlooking the roadstead of the fleet. Between these two points of the crescent, directly on the commodious harbor, was laid out, and surrounded by spacious colonnades, a convenient market-place; while above it, and circling the

hills, a broad street passed from horn to horn, parallel with the seashore. Above the middle point of this crescent street, on a rocky plateau, was the most imposing temple of the new city, sacred to the old Carian god, Zeus Stratios, in the Hellenic form of Ares. In this building the temple-statue was executed by the Athenian Bryaxis, or, according to others, by Timotheos. On the spot where a straight line passing from this temple down to the market-place would have crossed the great main street, was the Mausoleum,—that monument, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, which should, more than all else, make Halicarnassos and its founder famous. Its site, thus significantly chosen between the two extremities of the city in one direction, and the market-place and largest temple in the other, indicates clearly, that the Mausoleum was included in Mausolos' original plan of his Capitol. But, in the midst of his proud schemes, Mausolos was cut off (according to Diodoros, in 353, and, according to Pliny, 351 B.C.), to be succeeded by Artemisia, his widow and sister, whose crafty and strong policy was not unworthy of her energetic predecessor.⁹²⁷ No expense was spared upon Mausolos' funeral obsequies. The tomb, the site of which he himself had chosen, and which he had, perhaps, already begun, the queen now raised, with a magnificence surpassing all similar monuments. The finest Parian and Pentelic marbles brought from afar, as well as stone and marble from the vicinity, were provided. Satyros and Pythis, the latter the builder of the Temple of Athena in the neighboring Priene, and a sculptor as well, were called to be its architects. A colony of Athenian sculptors came to decorate it, and seem to have divided the work among themselves. According to Pliny, the east, or front, side was carved by Scopas, the west by Leochares, the north by Bryaxis, and the south by Timotheos, while the *quadriga* on the summit was by Pythis.⁹²⁸ As soon as the sepulchral chamber was completed, Artemisia dedicated it to the hero Mausolos by a great religious and agonistic ceremony.⁹²⁹ Her own death ensued only two years after that of her husband, and she was probably buried with him. The Attic sculptors, thus bereft of their liberal patroness, did not, however, relinquish their task, but are said, "for the sake of their own fame," to have brought their work to completion, in which, according to Pliny, "the rivalry of the different hands was evident."⁹³⁰ Their majestic work gave its name to sepulchral monuments of all coming time; and mausoleum has been the common term applied to such great tombs as that of Alexander in Alexandria, of Augustus in Rome, and, in modern times, of Napoleon in Paris, and Queen Charlotte in Berlin.

According to Pliny's very indefinite account, thirty-six columns, a pyramid of twenty-four marble steps, a chariot with four horses, and sculptures on four sides, formed Mausolos' regal tomb, the whole with a circumference of 134.20 meters (four hundred and forty feet), and a height of forty cubits (42.70 meters); while, from Lucian's dialogues, we learn that about it were represented horses

and men in marble, so naturally that no temple could easily show the like.⁹³⁰ Although the town had been plundered by the Arabs in 668 A.D., yet, even as late as the twelfth century, Eustathios says of the great tomb, "It was and is a wonder." At that time the ground about it had grown marshy, as naturally would happen when the complicated works were neglected which led off the water from the heights above. Earthquakes may soon have added their destructive power to that of the other elements. But the landing of the Knights of St. John at Halicarnassos in 1402, who were seeking to establish a strong post against the Turkish pirates, as well as a refuge for pursued Christian slaves, was the signal for the complete destruction of the Mausoleum. The small Turkish fort being taken, the Castle of St. Peter (Petronius, to-day corrupted to Budrun) was now commenced on an arm jutting out into the sea. From the ruins of the city, and especially the Mausoleum, layer after layer was removed, to be built into the massive fortification of their castle. The seven gates by which one enters have their jambs and architraves in Greek marble mouldings, and their decorations of Greek lions, guarding the French and Italian coats-of-arms. Marble reliefs, like an ornamental band, girded the heavy outer walls; while Gothic art, with graceful fancy, arched the castle-windows, and groined its ceilings.⁹³¹ In 1472 one of the leaders of the Doge Mocenigo's expedition still saw traces of the Mausoleum; but in 1522, before the siege of Rhodes by Sultan Soleiman, even these must have disappeared. The Crusaders' castle then required strengthening; and the Knight de la Tourette afterwards related to his learned countryman, d'Aliscamps, the wonderful things he saw in prosecuting this work.⁹³² While looking for lime in a field, the knights came upon a terrace of steps of white marble, doubtless left from the Mausoleum. Having removed the masonry above ground, and proceeding to dig farther, they perceived, that, the deeper they went, the larger the structure. Laying bare a great space, they saw an opening, as into a cellar. "Taking a candle, they let themselves down through the opening, and found that it led into a fine, large, square apartment, ornamented all around with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice engraved and sculptured in relief. The space between the columns was lined with slabs and bands of marble, ornamented with mouldings and sculptures in harmony with the rest of the work; and inserted in the white ground of the wall battle-scenes were represented. Having admired these works, they pulled them to pieces, and broke them up for building purposes. But they soon found a low door, which led into another apartment, where was a sepulchre with a base and helmet (*tymbre*) of white marble, very beautiful, and of marvellous lustre. This sepulchre, for lack of time, they did not open, the retreat having been already sounded. The day after, when they returned, they found the tomb opened, and the earth all around strewn with fragments of cloth of gold, and spangles of the same

metal, which led them to suppose that the pirates who hovered along the coast, having some inkling of what had been discovered, had visited the place during the night, and removed the lid of the sepulchre."

In 1656 a Frenchman visiting Budrun noticed the reliefs in the castle, and in the past century hasty sketches of them were made by Dalton and Mayer. In 1846 the English ambassador to the Porte sent some of these slabs of relief to the British Museum; but it was left for Professor C. T. Newton, in 1857, to make excavations, and secure the wealth of marbles which now adorns the New Mausoleum room of the British Museum. These fragments, even without the remains, still walled into the castle at Budrun, or buried in the museum at Constantinople, show clearly the riches of the sculptural decoration of Mausolos' tomb. They comprise no less than twenty-six colossal and life-size statues; one magnificent equestrian group; two colossal chariot-horses; twenty lions; one colossal standing ram, to which some object had been attached; the foot and head of a boar, as well as of a hound corresponding in scale to the boar; besides a large cloven hoof, probably of an ox; reliefs in isolated panels as well as in three long, running friezes.

This wealth of sculpture and of architectural fragments has incited many, aided by the indications on the site, and the accounts of ancient writers, to attempt a reconstruction of this regal tomb. But the difficulties in the way are great, owing to the scattered condition of the fragments, and the fact that the knights had thoroughly rummaged the ancient building, and removed its treasures from their original position. Moreover, much about the enclosure (*peribolos*) has been from necessity left unexcavated. Pullan, Fergusson, and others have, however, attempted the reconstruction of the tomb, and agree in the main outline but vary greatly in the details.⁹³³ A broad platform, measuring about 427 meters (fourteen hundred feet) in circumference, walled in securely, and probably approached on one side by spacious steps, formed the precincts within which the stately structure of the tomb itself rose. How grand this *peribolos* might be we see from the great tomb-walls of the Heroön at Gjölbashi in Lykia (p. 415). The enclosing wall at Halicarnassos, once faced with splendid marble blocks beautifully fitted together, was found by Professor Newton on the north side, for a length of 18.30 meters (sixty feet), and reaching a height of 2.44 meters (eight feet): on the east it was also traceable, but the western and southern sides still await excavation.⁹³⁴ The entrance to this enclosure, as at Gjölbashi, and the corners and top of the marble wall, must have had suitable sculptural decoration.

Many of the lions now facing each other in solemn couples in the British Museum may, perhaps, have surmounted this wall as vigilant guardians of the grave; one of them having been discovered close by the east wall, evidently where it had fallen. The fondness of the Greeks and of the people of Asia Minor for placing lions over the graves of their heroes is well known. Such

were put up in Phrygia, at Chaironeia, at Cnidos, and on Marathon's field. Here in Caria, the lion, as the attribute of the Oriental sun-god, may have had a special religious significance, and, as such, have been repeated on the tomb of the Carian Mausolos, especially as in Carian myth and names the lion plays a most prominent part.⁹³⁵ The lines of this tomb are carved in fine blocks of Pentelic marble; there being no piecing evident, like that prevalent in sculptures of the following, or Hellenistic, period. When first discovered, they showed traces of being colored a tawny red. Their size varies but slightly. None of them crouch; but all stand with tail slightly raised, and heads turned to the side, as though watching every approach to the tomb; this effect being enhanced by their protruded or retracted claws, fierce eyes and jaws. Unlike the African, but resembling the Asiatic, lions of to-day, their shapes are compact, and do not fall off at the hind-quarters. In these sculptures, the short, close manes are treated, as a rule, with conventional regularity. Great inequality, however, marks the execution; one head showing a powerful individuality of expression and natural shagginess of hair superior to the rest.⁹³⁶ The large number of these lions in the British Museum tempts the bewildered visitor to pass them by; but by isolating himself, and regarding each one in turn, he will discover their strong points, and perhaps be able to conceive their power as they still decorated the regal tomb. Some suppose them to have occupied the pyramid of steps above the tomb: others place them between the temple-columns, and still others at the base of the grave-chamber. Professor Newton suggests that they may, in rows like Egyptian sphinxes or the Miletos colossi, have lined the approach. Their monotonous repetition in the same pose has certainly something un-Greek about it, and seems to show the Oriental influence here felt by the Hellenic sculptor, most natural in a land bordering on the great kingdoms of the East. If we may draw an analogy from the great and probably older Heroön at Gjölbaschi in Lykia, some of the lions of Mausolos' tomb must have decorated the entrance in the *peribolos*-walls. They may possibly also have stood on the top of these walls, in this respect being different from the winged half-bulls which seem to spring out over the entrance at Gjölbaschi. These complete lions of the Mausoleum, contrasted with the Oriental winged monsters in Lykia, show how much more developed here were purely Greek forms; although the plan and idea of the structure still retained Oriental characteristics.

But passing within by the rocky steps on the west side, and entering this enclosure, we should, according to Pliny, have found the tomb proper a quadrangular building, having a circuit of about 128.10 meters (four hundred and twenty feet) and towering into the air, and consisting of a massive substructure surmounted by a temple surrounded by Ionic columns, above which soared lightly a pyramid of steps crowned with a *quadriga* and its pedestal. This complicated combination of a lofty columned temple and pyramid towering up

in mid-air is another indication, like the repeated lions, of the influence of the magnificence and wonder loving Orient on the Hellenic architects and sculptors. But while, in the general plan, they satisfied the tastes of their Carian patrons in details of architecture and sculpture, they were true, as the fragments prove, to their Attic spirit. Within the massive substructure, built of huge blocks of green stone, the lowest corners of which were found *in situ*, rested the body of Mausolos. It was his regal grave-chamber; and near the still standing corner-blocks of its narrow entrance were found fragments of a marble sarcophagus, of marble vases, as well as of a costly alabaster vase for unguents; but what may have been the internal finish of this chamber must be left to conjecture. With regard to the exterior, however, we know more. On the so-called Nereid monument at Xanthos (p. 409) two sculptured friezes surrounded the massive base (*podium*); and Furtwängler has shown, that, in like manner, two friezes now in the British Museum probably once encircled, at some distance apart, the four sides of the substructure of this Mausoleum.⁹³⁷ The material of which these friezes are composed—a coarse-grained Asia-Minor marble—makes it improbable that they were placed directly between the architectural mouldings and the pillars of much finer Parian and Pentelic marble, where one of them—the Amazon frieze—has hitherto been supposed to have stood. These two friezes are nearly of the same width. One representing the conflict of Lapithæ and centaurs, of which there are only two fragments in the British Museum, is one inch narrower than the other, and is finished with adjuncts of bronze. From its fragments, too meagre to judge of the composition, it seems that the same hands that executed the Amazon frieze were also here at work. The subject, moreover, is so strikingly Attic, that it is difficult to conceive what special significance it could have had as the decoration of the tomb of a Carian prince.

On the other hand, in the wider, the Amazon frieze, of which 24.40 meters (eighty feet) have been well preserved, it is possible that the favorite Attic theme may be connected with the Carian myth, according to which Heracles slew the Amazon queen at the river Thermodon, in Asia Minor, and took from her the double-headed axe, which, passing to the Carians, became sacred to their greatest god, Zeus Labrandeus; and it is thought, that, on one slab of this frieze (slab 9), Heracles may be recognized. As a narrow band, this frieze probably once encircled the base of the tomb, which would have given it a length of about 128.10 meters (four hundred and twenty feet). Of the eighty feet preserved in the British Museum, the four slabs discovered by Professor Newton have still their exquisite surface finish.⁹³⁸ Plate III. represents one of these slabs. The fragments of this Amazon frieze show in composition a general similarity, part to part, and have less intricacy than the Phigaleia or Athena Nike friezes; the groups being composed usually of but two, or, at the most,

three, figures. Thus a limpid clearness marks the composition, enhanced by the great saliency of the relief, which is often undercut, to make it still more pronounced. Tremendous energy and animation pulsate through the forms; and so extreme is this motion, that it sometimes seems exaggerated. The passion which scarcely knows bounds finds expression in the faces as well. The slanting pose of the warriors, either rushing forward or drawing vigorously back, introduces a peculiar antithesis of oblique parallel lines, which admirably sustains the running, frieze-like character, and must have produced a pleasant decorative effect, as the reliefs, like an ornamental band, encircled the plain surface of the lower part of the tomb. The polychromy of the whole frieze is proved by slabs, discovered by Professor Newton, which, on disinterment, showed a ground, like that of the architectural ornaments, of blue, equal in intensity to ultramarine, with flesh of dun red, and drapery and armor picked out with vermilion.⁹³⁹ There is great variety in the accoutrements of both warriors and Amazons in the different parts. In some the heroes are partly nude, and partly clothed in a short *chiton*, and a long, shawl-like garment with square ends, which flutter wildly in the wind, much as does the drapery of the Phigaleia and Athena Nike friezes. Frequently the heroes wear helmets, and carry sword, lance, and shield, the latter being often strangely fore-shortened, so as to seem egg-shaped. But again, as in the most beautiful slabs, one of which is represented in Plate III., the warriors are thoroughly nude. The shield, of graceful round shape, is so carried that it does not cover any line of the body, but rather throws it out into relief, and serves skilfully to unite the composition, the Amazon being chained in close combat to the hero by seizing this shield with one hand to push it back, while with the other she swings high the threatening battle-axe, ready the next moment to bring it down upon her powerful foe. In the attire, weapons, and action of these Amazons, there is no less variety than in those of the warriors. Occasionally they are helmeted: again, they wear the soft, folding head-dress commonly given them, and from beneath which rich, flowing locks sometimes escape. Often, as in the case of the Amazon, Plate III., sitting excitedly in reversed position on her fleeing steed, they are but slightly clad in a short *chiton*, which partly opens, revealing the rounded thigh and limb, in almost voluptuous contrast to the rugged, vigorous shapes of the heroes. Again, the widely opened *chiton*, as in the slab represented in Fig. 200, forms an exquisite background, as it were, to the soft, rounded carnation of the excited female combatant. A most pleasing contrast to these forms are those of the Amazons wrapped in full drapery, as may be seen in the warrior-woman of Plate III., who, besides her short *chiton* drawn closely about the body by her vehement action, wears a long, squarely ending mantle fluttering in the wind. Still others are clad in the long sleeves, trousers, and buskins generally used by the Greeks as the appropriate guise for the barbarian element represented by these turbulent, law-defying Amazons. Even in the manner of fighting, there is indicated a

difference, — the men combating with system, as though accustomed to military drill; the women fighting capriciously, snatching at the enemy's shield, riding backwards, and the like. In one case an Amazon's farther knee shows above the back of her horse (Plate III.); but with the other leg she clings so firmly to her horse's side, that we have no fear that she will lose her seat. The horse snorts in the fury of the battle; his eye is swollen, mouth open, showing tongue and both rows of teeth; and his nostrils are distended. The veins of his belly swell with the intensity of his exertions. But how different these from the earlier Parthenon horses! The greater realism appears on comparing this Plate III. with Selections, Plate V., from the Parthenon frieze. And yet how

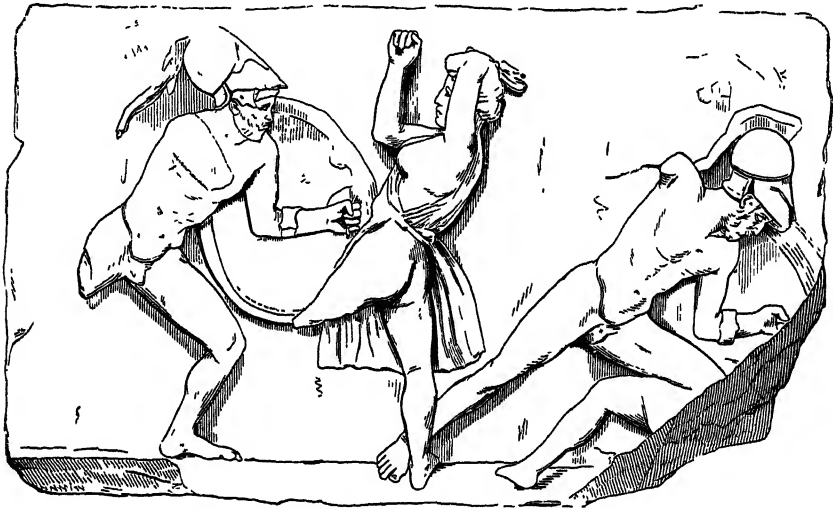


Fig. 200. A Part of the Amazon Frieze of the Mausoleum. British Museum.

noble the short heads, vigorous, compact shapes, and fiery action of many of these steeds, of the Amazon frieze!

But there are great inequalities in the execution of these slabs, in some of which sprawling lines, or too suddenly broken ones, are in unpleasant contrast to the harmony of others. In some the heads seem large for the bodies, the rendering is 'lax, and composition feebly linked together; while in others it is most masterly. These marked inequalities in style have led Professor Brunn to make a critical study of the slabs, comparing one with the other by means of photographs, in order, perchance, to discern the hand of the four different masters who, according to Pliny, worked upon this monument.⁹⁴⁰ In so doing he believed that he could discern four different styles, and in accordance arranged the slabs in four series, with the reservation, however, that his classification might, in time, be made invalid by accurate measurements of the marbles. These measurements have at last been made; since, upon the removal of the marbles from their old quarters to the new ones, comparison was possible of



the widths of the mouldings at the base of the slabs.⁹⁴¹ These measurements have shown that there are two decided widths in these mouldings, one being a quarter of an inch narrower than the other. But the classification by Brunn would unite slabs with varying cornices on the same side of the building, which could not have been actually the case. To account for these different widths, Professor Newton suggests, that, at the ends of the building, cornices of one width might have been applied, while on the sides the other width would have found its place. So much having been lost, we are unhappily still in ignorance as to the sequence of many of the slabs.

The influence of this Amazon frieze on later sculptors must have been great, if we may judge from the numerous repetitions of its motives found in other places. Such are found in the frieze, now in the Louvre, from the Temple of Artemis, north of Halicarnassos,—a work executed during the time of Roman rule. A beautiful sarcophagus in Vienna, according to one story originally from Attica, and, according to another, from Ephesos, is also adorned with scenes evidently copied directly from this Amazon frieze.⁹⁴² The frequent representation of the back is a feature not met with before, but one which, in the friezes of the Great Pergamon Altar, should be most extensively developed.

Above the substructure decorated with the two friezes described, there arose the second part of the Mausoleum, a temple-like edifice surrounded by thirty-six graceful Ionic columns. It doubtless served for the worship of the dead, and for frequent rites held in connection with his memory. But what sculpture decorated it within and without, we know not. Possibly a third frieze and a number of square carvings, sunken within a high framing of marble, and in one of which Theseus is seen to struggle with Skiron, adorned this temple-part of the tomb. If so, doubtless these latter were applied to its walls as panels. The third frieze represents chariot-races, doubtless like those celebrated at Mausolos' funeral, and is of thinner, finer marble. Of it, five large fragments, and about one hundred smaller ones, are in the British Museum. Although unable to fix the exact place of this very fragmentary frieze, we must stop for a moment to admire one of its well-preserved bits. In it the face of the charioteer, who is clad in long, flowing robes, is finished with the fineness of a gem.⁹⁴³ He has an expression of apprehension; and his whole gesture of bending eagerly forward, besides the fragments of flying steeds, give us some conception of what must have been the interest of this frieze, and the skill with which the different emotions of anxiety, triumph, etc., must have been brought out. The long robe of this charioteer gives the impression that it belongs to a female, but the form is that of a male clad in the ancient livery of the charioteer. Comparing the treatment and composition with the chariots frequently represented in the Gjölbaschi monument, we shall realize how much more intense these Mausoleum chariots and horses, and how nearly they verge upon a noble realism.

Above the temple, with its surrounding Ionic columns, towered a pyramid of twenty-four marble steps, skilfully upheld by an architecture which made it seem, as the ancients said, "hanging in the void air." Many of these steps were found where they had been precipitated, but as yet no sure signs of any decoration upon them have been found.

Surmounting them, however, and bringing the lofty edifice up to a height of 42.70 meters (one hundred and forty feet), was, finally, the four-horse chariot by Pythis, doubtless on a lofty pedestal. Fragments of the wheels were found, together with parts of two of the horses, all on a colossal scale. The wheel has a diameter of seven feet seven inches, and the horses are in proportion; but the very colossal size, added to the lack of many parts, prevents Pythis' horse, now placed on a level with the eye, from producing the impression it must have given when at its original elevation high above the ground. From the few hoofs attached to the base, and the lack of action in the shoulders, it is inferred that the horses did not appear prancing and in excitement, but standing, and possibly pawing the ground with one hoof. The bronze harness, still on the head and neck of one of these horses in the British Museum, adds to the exceedingly realistic impression of the massive head, long mane falling over the forehead and on each side of the neck, and the natural surface of skin and veins. Compare this ponderous head with Selene's Parthenon steed of an earlier day, and its peculiarities will most vividly appear.

The parts of twenty-six statues executed from large blocks of Parian and Pentelic marble with little or no piecing, are also so mutilated, that it is impossible to divine either the subject of many, their ruling thought, or the place they occupied. With the exception of one equestrian statue, the quiet of the muscles and the composition of the drapery seem to indicate that they were represented as standing or sitting in attitude of repose. The unfinished backs of the majority show, also, that they were not to be viewed from all sides, but probably stood in niches, or against a wall. Before the magnificent fragment of a bounding steed (Selections, Plate IX.), which bears a closely draped rider, every one must stop, rapt in astonishment; although head and legs of the horse, and upper part of rider, are gone. Some parts were broken away by a sledge-hammer, and the surfaces of the horse show that it once served as a target for the bullets of the barbarous residents of Boudrun. And yet so great is the art in this fragment, that the marble fairly throbs and pulsates with life. To use Professor Newton's words, "The rearing movement affects the whole frame; and the solid and unwieldy mass of marble seems to bend and spring before our eyes, as if all the latent energy of the animal were suddenly called forth, and concentrated in one forward movement. Equal skill is shown in the representation of the rider. Nothing can be more perfect than his seat. The right leg and thigh seem to grow to the horse's side; the

manner in which the waist yields to the movement of the rearing horse is admirably expressed by the composition of the drapery; the position of the bridle-hand is carefully studied; the elbow is fixed; the wrist flexible; the thumb bent firmly over the reins." The upper jaw and nose of a horse found near this fragment may have belonged to it, in which case "the mouth of the horse must have been represented open, and his nostrils distended with rage, as would be characteristic of a horse in the excitement of battle," and as the horses appear on the frieze. The high finish of this group, as seen in the surface of the left hand, beautiful in its masculine power, in contrast to the rougher work of Pythis' *quadriga*, seems to indicate that it was intended for closer inspection, — to decorate, perhaps, the lower part of the Mausoleum. The close-fitting trousers, called *anaxyrides*, worn by the rider, and usually given in Greek art to Asiatics, have led some to consider it an Amazon in conflict with some foe on foot: others think it represents a Persian, or perhaps one of the mythic ancestral princes of Caria.

One colossal statue, measuring over three meters (nine feet, nine inches) in height, and composed of more than sixty-five fragments, is evidently a portrait, and represents a man in the prime of life, standing quietly, wrapped in full drapery.⁹⁴⁴ It is surmised to be Mausolos himself; and its firm, resolute features, lion-like, long, wavy hair, and commanding aspect, accord well with the description Mausolos' shade gives of himself in Lucian's dialogues, where he says, "I was a tall, handsome man, and formidable in war."⁹⁴⁵ The fact that this statue was found with fragments of the *quadriga* led Professor Newton to suppose that it originally rode on this chariot on the summit of the tomb. By Mausolos' side, Professor Newton supposed the grand veiled female figure found with him to have stood, acting as charioteer, — a goddess conducting the hero to immortality; thus making the whole group, as it surmounted the lofty tomb, incorporate the idea of an Apotheosis. So unbending, however, is the pose of these statues, so carefully finished their lower parts for chariot-figures, that some object to this theory, and suppose them to have represented Mausolos and Artemisia as standing perhaps within the temple; but at present there are no means of arriving at certainty upon this interesting question. The possession of this supposed portrait-face of Mausolos is of prime importance, as showing us how the sculptors of the Mausoleum were approaching actual life in their work, and yet idealizing it. Were the long locks still unbroken, and hanging at the side of the face, the character of strong and un-Hellenic portraiture would, no doubt, be enhanced; while the deeply set eyes and firm mouth would preserve the impression of the heroic. The drapery of this statue and of the one called Artemisia (now at last relieved of many ugly, cumbering lines from the restorer's hand), when compared with the Parthenon marbles, shows much more realism, as seen in the break of folds and the surface treatment, full of wrinkles; but, compared with the

Hermes of Praxiteles, the drapery seems but a timid advance towards realism, although full of beautiful motives leading to it.

But our survey of the sculptural decoration of the Mausoleum would be incomplete without making mention of other fragments, — parts of a hunter and boar; a fine colossal seated statue, — perhaps a throned and fully draped Zeus; several female heads, doubtless goddesses, rich and full in treatment, and with foreheads encircled by regular curls; besides beautiful heads of the Apollo, Heracles, and Sophocles type, and one of a Persian, wrapped in the peculiar head-dress, called *kýrbasia*, covering chin, mouth, and forehead. How different all these faces from the passionless generalized types of the Parthenon! The eyes are in every case deeply set, and so varied as to be individualized; while from all beams a pathos and depth of soul expression most fascinating, whether in the rich beauty of the colossal female heads, or the stronger lines of the bearded male faces. This profusion in statuary, of portraits, heroes, gods, and barbarians, and, in relief, of mythic combats and of scenes from the beautiful chariot-race, opens up to us a glimpse at the wide range taken by the Attic sculptors in this monument, and seems to foretell tendencies carried out by the sculptors of the following age. Mausolos seems the forerunner of the Hellenistic rulers; and so these sculptures on his tomb seem to mark the passage over to a more luxurious, naturalistic, but still noble art, such as we shall see was encouraged by the princes of Pergamon.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NIOBE GROUP.—ATTIC SCULPTORS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Niobe Myth.—Niobe Marbles.—Their Date.—Description.—Artistic Character and Thought.—Widely scattered Traces.—Artists of the Age of Scopas and Praxiteles.—Silanion.—Euphranor.

THE story of Niobe was sung first in the "Iliad," then by successive lyric poets, — Archilochos, Alcaios, Sappho, and Pindar : finally Æschylos and Sophocles worked it up into powerful tragedy. Although varying somewhat in detail as told by these different writers, its outlines are simple and harmonious.⁹⁴⁶ Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos, her home in Sipylos, becomes the happy wife of Amphion of Thebes, and in time the proud mother of many blooming sons and daughters. As her father had communed with the immortals, so Niobe was privileged to have the companionship of Leto, the wife of Zeus himself, and mother of Apollo and of Artemis. But forgetful of her mortal origin, and filled with unbecoming pride, Niobe exulted over her friend by reason of her numerous offspring, and, according to one story, even presumptuously bade the Thebans no longer to bring offerings to Leto and her divine children, but to worship her, their own happy queen, instead. The indignant Leto, with lightning speed, now repaired to her son Apollo and daughter Artemis, adjuring them to mete out punishment to such impiety. The angered gods, carrying out their mother's entreaty, sought out Niobe's offspring, usually said to have numbered fourteen, boys and girls, each equalling the sacred number seven. According to one version, the sons were in the *palæstra* at Thebes, two of them engaged in wrestling ; according to another, they were hunting on rocky Kithairon : while the daughters were all at home. In one short day the silver-toned arrows of the gods laid them low, like budding flowers, fresh and dewy, broken off in their youthful beauty. The bereft mother was left to mourn alone, and even though turned to stone, as the story went, still wept, and refused to be comforted ; her anguish serving as a warning to all who were tempted to overweening pride. Tragedy, concentrating the myth, made the dire event take place, not in widely scattered places, but beneath the very eyes of the agonized mother ; and, in the remains existing, art follows its leadings. Although Pheidias represented the scene on the throne of his Olympic Zeus, the most celebrated treatment of the subject is ascribed sometimes to

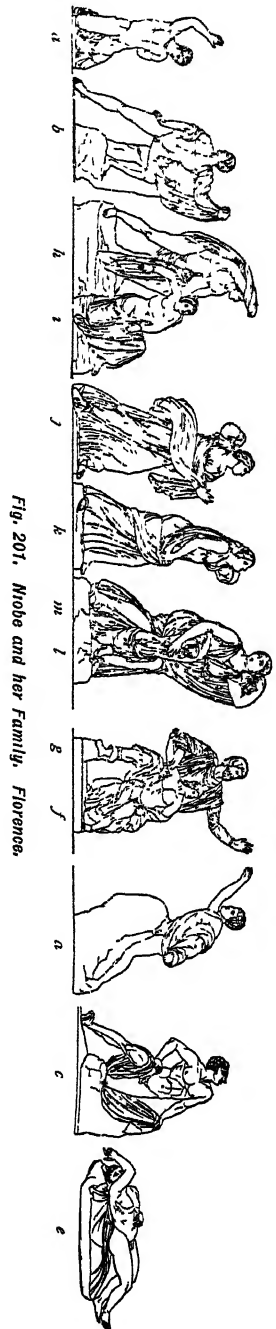
Scopas and sometimes to Praxiteles, masters of a later time, much more prone to express the extreme emotion embodied in such myth.⁹⁴⁷

The group thus ascribed to these two great masters was originally in Asia Minor, and was brought to Rome by C. Sosius, Anthony's legate in Syria and Kilikia in 38 B.C. This general held his triumphal entry into Rome in 35 B.C., and, as was customary, graced it with treasures from the Orient, among which was, probably, the Niobe group, which he afterwards placed in the temple he built to Apollo, called, after him, Sosianus, and in which the sacred statue was a cedar-wood Apollo, likewise from the Orient.⁹⁴⁸ So indefinite are the statements of Pliny with regard to these statues, that we know nothing of their original use, nor of the mode in which they decorated Sosius' shrine. The subject, however, is so appropriate for one of those grand funereal monuments so numerous in Asia Minor, that the supposition made by Milchhofer, that the group originally decorated a tomb, is most plausible, although in opposition to the older theory, that it was connected with a Temple of Apollo at Holmoi in Kilikia.⁹⁴⁹

When, in 1583, twelve statues, many of which clearly related to the Niobe myth, were unearthed near the Lateran at Rome, they were hailed as the original group brought from Asia Minor, and were immediately purchased by the Medici family.⁹⁵⁰ A group of wrestlers, found on the same site, was set aside as not belonging with them. After 1593 the restorer's hand was put to the statues, nine of which are in Pentelic marble; and the interest roused by the group was such that other statues were sought out from among antique marbles, and added to the number. In 1775 all were removed from the Villa Medici to Florence, and in 1794 were put up in the Uffizi, where the figures now stand. Since, however, numerous genuine Greek sculptures of the fourth century B.C. have been brought to light, and we have become familiar with the freshness and vigor of their style, the fond dream, that these Niobe statues of the Florence gallery are the originals by Scopas or Praxiteles, is dispelled, and the conviction takes its place, that they are Roman reproductions of the great work, which, alas! has disappeared. The finding in still other museums of better *replicas*, and of figures clearly belonging to the group, spurs on to a search for missing members; while the repetition of the same statue in the Florence gallery shows the necessity of sifting out superfluous figures, to discover, if possible, the composition of the original.

About the main figures, both grouped and single, there is no difference of opinion (Fig. 201). Thus, there can be no doubt about Niobe's seven unhappy sons, whose well-knitted and compact forms, short-cut hair, and peculiarly shaped ears (where not restored), are those of the youthful athlete; while their energetic faces express different shades of apprehension or actual suffering, and their position indicates flight, death, or falling wounded by the arrows of the gods. The figure of one of these youths (Fig. 201, *a*), of which there

are exact duplicates in Florence, flees over the rocky ground, so that his right leg is behind a great rock, while with his left hand he catches up his *chlamys*, which otherwise would hinder his flight ⁹⁵¹ Another son, only found in the Florence collection, and likewise fleeing, has a different position (*b*). Placing the left foot upon a rock, he draws the right after it, and raising his left arm, wrapped in drapery, looks back with slightly opened lips; a shade of trouble gathering over his eyes and eyebrows, as though becoming aware of the presence of the avenging gods. One step farther in the tragedy shows us a son existing in two *replicas* at Florence (*c*) besides one at Rome in the Capitoline Museum. Having fallen on one knee, the youth supports himself on the rocks with the left arm, places the right at his hip (both of the arms are antique), and looks back, as though defiantly meeting his fate. Indeed, how fierce the struggle with death in all the sons appears on comparing their attitudes with the gentle sinking of the sisters! Still nearer death is the son represented in the figure long called Narcissos, but recognized by Thorwaldsen as one of Niobe's sons (*d*). He has fallen on both knees; and his left side, contracted by pain, he seeks with the left hand, which seems to have been correctly restored. The fate of all Niobe's blooming sons is prophesied in that figure (*e*) who lies stretched in quiet death on his mantle, spread over the rough rock, his eyes half closed, lips opened, and arm laid gently on the breast. Of this figure at least four *replicas* exist in Florence, Munich, Turin, and Dresden, the best known being that in the Munich Glyptothek, whither it came originally from the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona.^{951a} Besides these five sons are two others, traceable in statuary, thus completing the number usually ascribed in poetry to Niobe. One (*f*)—if we may judge from size, and longer, curling hair, the youngest—is found in three *replicas*,—one in Florence, another in the Vatican, and a third in the Louvre. This latter, discovered at Soissons in France, an ancient Roman settlement, was, however, found, not alone, but grouped with the figure of an older, roughly clad man (*g*), who, no doubt, represents the faithful pedagogue or slave always



attendant upon the younger sons of high-born Greek families, and whose protecting, kindly character is beautifully pictured to us by Sophocles in his "Electra." The slave, whose right arm is antique, puts his hand on the affrighted boy's shoulder, as though to assure him; but of the other arm, restored as pointing upwards, we do not know the original position. The remaining son (*h*), forgetful of self, checks himself in his flight, to protect, if possible, the sister (*i*) falling at his feet, and looks up with an expression of agony and apprehension. This figure is preserved to us in two *replicas*; the one in Florence being incomplete, and without the sister. The other, which is in the Vatican, has the sister, and was recognized by Canova as belonging to the Niobe family.⁹⁵²

Of Niobe's daughters, usually fabled to have been seven, less statues are preserved to us; but among them some are of such beauty as to make up our lack in part, at least. One, in the vigor of beautiful youth, and still in full flight, is preserved to us in two *replicas* (*j*). But not from the Florence statue, fully restored, and with feeble, shallow drapery, do we gain the full impression of her fearful, anxious haste. A far better copy—that headless statue of the Museo Chiaramonte in Rome, with its impetuous, stormy drapery having cavernous folds and fine, fluttering ends—best tells the sad story. This statue, vastly superior in workmanship to the remaining figures of the Niobe group, flies over a flat surface, and her mantle is lifted so as least to impede motion. It is said to have originally belonged to the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, whose treasures came principally from Hadrian's villa. That the lower part of the figure, from the knees downwards, seems short in proportion to the rest, is clearly a shortcoming; but as it is frequently met in rapidly moving draped figures,—as, for instance, in the goddess hurling a vase in the frieze of the Pergamon altar,—we may infer that the ancient sculptors had some reason for these representations, perhaps giving such proportions for purposes of optical effect. The arrows of the gods have overtaken a second daughter, the statue existing in Florence alone (*k*). She appears halting, as though suddenly smitten. Her head is thrown back: one arm seeks the wound in the neck, the other drops her mantle; and her feet refuse to continue the anxious flight in which they tremblingly halt. Of the third daughter (*l*), sinking at her brother's feet like a broken flower, mention has already been made. The fourth, doubtless the youngest (*l*), seeks shelter with her mother (*m*). This daughter's figure is found in Florence, and in a *replica* in Berlin, where, separated from the grand figure of Niobe herself, it is restored as Psyche. Concerning the three remaining daughters, to make out the seven, we are very much in the dark. It is possible, that, corresponding to the son stretched in death, there was also a daughter; since such a figure, although lacking in statuary, is hinted to us by reliefs, as on a marble, disk-shaped carving now in the British Museum.⁹⁵³ Here we see, in a composition made up of elements traceable to different sources, one

daughter beautifully quiet in death, lying on her back, her drapery about her, and her arms thrown above her head. Of the two remaining daughters, no statues exist; but in a Niobe relief now in St. Petersburg, owned formerly by Campana,^{953a} the central group, where one sister tenderly supports another, — something in the pose of the Amazon, with her wounded companion, of the Phigaleia frieze, p. 398, — may be an echo of such missing members. Other statues in Florence, formerly reckoned as the Niobe daughters and a nurse, corresponding to the pedagogue, are now usually rejected. Such are the one restored sometimes as Psyche, another called Anchirrhoe, and a third clearly a Muse.



Fig 202 Niobe. Florence.

But towering up in size and spirit above her children and attendants, and sheltering her frail daughter, appears Niobe herself, whose grand form has nowhere been found repeated exactly in statuary. Unfortunately the glorious Florence statue stands in so poor a light that it has been impossible to procure a satisfactory representation of it. Of the head (Fig. 202) other *replicas* are found in various galleries; the most celebrated being in Brocklesby Park in England, but not greatly superior to the head in Florence, if a comparison of the casts is to be relied upon.⁹⁵⁴ As the statue stands before us, Niobe, hastening over rocky ground, seems to have checked her steps, for the unseen gods are letting fly their unerring darts, and her children, as a frightened flock, press towards her; while she, with eyes quivering with bursting tears, and lips parted

with unutterable anguish, looks upward to the spot whence comes her sorrow. Raising her mantle,—doubtless to protect the cowering child who clings to her sheltering form, and like a solitary rock against which beat the wild and stormy waves,—she alone breasts the vengeance of Heaven; but her knitted brows, and lower lid drawn convulsively upward, show that she is conscious of her remediless fate. Maternal love, however, still supports her as she protects her youngest, bringing a gentle ray of pathos into this scene of desolation, and touching with silver light the darkness rapidly gathering about her. The child's tender form comes out through thin, clinging drapery, in beautiful contrast to the mother's heavier shape; and the group, looked at from the front, offers many lines of great beauty, but in the rear the swelling mantle is left unfinished.

Although in relief the avenging Apollo and Artemis have been found represented as shooting their arrows, no fragments of statues of gods were found with the Florence group; and it is most improbable that they formed a part of the Greek original. The agony of the mother, and the terror of her children in the marble figures, indicate sufficiently the presence of the avenging deities; and their bodily representation would doubtless have only added a too great baldness to the already painful scene.

The different points from which these statues are intended to be seen, and their varying size and pose, naturally rouse the question as to their original composition with relation to each other. Soon after being discovered, the arrangement they received in the Villa Medici was in the spirit of the time; Niobe occupying the centre of a rocky eminence, about which her children appeared in picturesque confusion. In trying to arrive at the original arrangement, the size of the pedagogue makes it improbable that Niobe could have formed the centre of a pedimental group. And the unfinished backs of so many of the figures militate against another theory,—that the statues occupied a semicircular open-air pedestal like one found at Olympia.⁹⁵⁵ Nor is it possible to think of the statues as standing between columns or in niches: their varying size, and internal union of thought, forbidding their separation, the figures seeming to press forward from either side. We are, therefore, still in ignorance as to the composition of the original group, which in all probability inspired these copies from the Roman age.

But while thus baffled as to the general composition, and the place of the single figures, how strong the impression left by this fragmentary creation, and how rich the chords it strikes, finding a response in every human heart! The Niobe myth is one of the saddest: in it the just but severe judgments of the gods are visited upon both innocent and guilty. Its subject naturally suggests torture and pain, which we might expect to see pictured in forms too piteous for contemplation, something, perhaps, like the ghastly agony of the damned in mediæval figures. But not so: the sculptor has placed limitations upon himself and his art. We are indeed impressed by this manifestation of the divine

judgments, but a deep and tender sympathy for the victims takes possession of us. Niobe, the proud queen and fond mother, does not give herself over to paroxysms of extravagant grief, though she beholds every earthly joy ruthlessly torn from her in one short hour. No frantic gesticulation, no wild look, betrays terror, rage, or other baser feelings. Unfathomable grief is there; but grief which seems tempered by a consciousness of justice, and a certain degree of submission. This moderation seems portrayed in her children also, as though the gods in wisdom had not permitted the full measure of their punishment to weigh too heavily on their innocent victims. Our natural aversion to scenes of grief is, moreover, overcome by the great beauty which the sculptor has thrown around the marbles. The disturbing bodily anguish is veiled from our eyes. Indeed, the Greeks believed the wounds inflicted by the immortals to be painless. Youth has been selected for all the forms. Even Niobe is not old: the type of her face, its deeply set eyes and generous lines, show the ripeness, but yet the freshness, of blooming womanhood. Moreover, touching marks of affection, occurring throughout, temper the terribleness of the scene. Niobe clasps her youngest daughter in her fond embrace, and a brother strives to shield his sister from her impending fate. In short, mother and children are of a race of heroes; and a family resemblance of rich, full beauty runs through the whole. The touching pathos, which the sculptors of the fourth century developed to a higher degree than had been done before, appears here, even though shimmering through these remote copies of their original works.⁹⁵⁶

Many lesser stars cluster around the constellation of Scopas and Praxiteles. The names of these minor masters are continually being culled from fragmentary pedestals discovered on Attic soil.⁹⁵⁷ Of some, honorable mention is made by ancient authors; while the numerous sculptured tombstones and votive monuments found in Attica testify to the high average excellence of the humbler carvers, and a few fragments show the rare attainments of greater men.

Praxiteles' own sons and scholars, Kephisodotos and Timarchos, were among the younger generation, rising about these masters; but, since their prime fell long years after the death of Alexander, they belong properly to the opening years of the following period, where they will find their place.

Silanion of Athens must have been a contemporary of Scopas and of Praxiteles, since he is said to have made a portrait of Plato, who died in 348 B.C. (Olymp. 108. 1). This master was remarkable for having, although self-taught, attained to great professional excellence.⁹⁵⁸ Among his works — of which we know little more than the mere names — were several portraits, a few figures from heroic myth, but no gods. His Achilles is simply mentioned by Pliny as a noble work, and of his Theseus in Athens we know even less. Of his dying Iocaste, the unhappy wife and mother of Oidipus, in Theban myth, we are told that he added silver to the bronze in order better to give the pallor of death.⁹⁵⁹ Thus, if this

story be true, to the tragic pathos expressed in form, Silanion seems to have added the illusion of a realistic copying of nature. His portraits of Corinna and Sappho, poetesses of the sixth century B.C., must have been purely ideal creations; and the Sappho was praised by Cicero, who tells us that Verres carried it off from the Prytaneion at Athens.⁹⁶⁰ Silanion's portrait of Plato was ordered by Mithridates the Persian, who dedicated it to the Muses in the Academy, that retired spot at Athens so often frequented by the great philosopher. Unfortunately, the probable portraits of Plato are very few, and we have no means of connecting them directly with Silanion's work.⁹⁶¹ Four subjects from the athlete's life are mentioned as by this master. These are three Olympic victors in the boxing game seen by Pausanias, and an instructor training athletes mentioned by Pliny.⁹⁶² A portrait of the sculptor Apollodoros completes the list of Silanion's known works, and is remarkable as combining with portraiture the expression of great passion.⁹⁶³ Apollodoros studied philosophy with Socrates, but forsook that profession to become a sculptor, in which new calling he required great things of himself. The story is, that he was often so dissatisfied with his work when completed, that he destroyed it, winning for himself the epithet, "the insane." According to Pliny's extreme praise, Silanion's portrait represented, not a bronze figure, but anger (*iracundia*) itself. The master seems to have been a true son of the Attic school of his time, in this expression of passion; but in its combination with portraiture there is, perhaps, evident a realistic tendency in his genius, more like that which we shall find characterizing contemporary Peloponnesian art, and to be strongly expressed in the Hellenistic age.

Another master, Euphranor, though a native of the Isthmus of Corinth, seems to have left many works in Attica. His prime is stated by Pliny to have been in Olymp. 104; but, since he executed a portrait of Alexander, he doubtless was active long after that. So varied were his gifts, that he seems the Leonardo of that century. He not only worked in metal and marble, modelling imposing colossi, and chiselling fine silver cups: he was also a painter, wrote treatises on symmetry and color, and, according to Pliny, was more anxious to learn, and more active, than all, excelling in every thing he undertook.⁹⁶⁴ Lucian mentions him with Myron, Pheidias, and Alcamenes among sculptors; with Apelles and Parrhasios among painters; Quintilian gives him the place in art that Cicero occupied in literature.⁹⁶⁵ As a painter, he was the scholar of Aristeides of Thebes; and his pictures are more fully described than his statues, but of the latter a stately though sterile list is preserved to us. In Athens, Pausanias saw his Apollo Patroös in the Kerameikos.⁹⁶⁶ An Hephaistos from his hand was remarkable for the admirable impression it gave of the limping of the god.⁹⁶⁷ Other statues were seen in Rome, — an Athena, and a Bonus Eventus carrying in the right hand a saucer, and in the left ears of grain and poppies.⁹⁶⁸ By this master there was a Leto, bearing her children on her arms, in the Temple

of Concordia. Several repetitions of such a group have been recognized, not only on coins, but in statuary; the best-preserved *replica* being in the Museo Tolonia at Rome, where it is probably correctly restored.⁹⁶⁹ It represents that moment of Greek myth when Leto, fleeing before Python, bears on one arm the babe Apollo, who turns to slay the pursuing monster, while on the other arm his tiny sister Artemis sits quietly looking on. This story of Apollo as slaying the destructive monster, to deliver mankind, and afterwards, although a god, doing penance for having stained his hands with blood, thus containing one of the most powerful ethical dogmas of the Greek religion, furnished frequent inspiration for artists. Pythagoras of Rhegion treated the subject, and on coins and vases it is not unusual.

In older representations, Apollo appeared full grown, as seen on vases of the sterner style. But in this century, when childhood and womanhood came to play so prominent a part in art, we see Apollo, as a babe in his mother's arms, performing the first tremendous task of his divine career.

A Paris by Euphranor was said to have combined many excellences. According to Pliny, one could see in the statue, not only the arbiter between the goddesses and the lover of Helen, but also the slayer of Achilles.⁹⁷⁰ Besides gods, goddesses, and heroes, Euphranor is said to have represented, on colossal size, a "Virtus" and a "Græcia;" a priestess with the temple-key (*cleiduchos*), said to have been of most beautiful forms, and a praying woman; an Alexander and Philip on *quadrigæ* were also from his hand.⁹⁷¹

Of his painting, it was said, that, though greatly concerned for symmetry, Euphranor made the bodies too slender in proportion to the heads and extremities; and it is possible, that this one hint as to the style of his art may be passed over to his statuary also.⁹⁷² We know, that he claimed for his painting of Theseus, that he had made him appear as though fed on flesh, while the one by Parrhasios seemed fed on roses.⁹⁷³ Whether, in his statuary, there were companion-pieces to his painting of Odysseus simulating insanity, or to this Theseus, and whether his skill as a painter encouraged the pictorial element, capable of producing illusion in statuary as well, must necessarily be left to the realm of conjecture.⁹⁷⁴

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXTANT ATTIC SCULPTURES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Head from Southern Slope of Acropolis. — Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. — Theatre of Dionysos. — Statue of Sophocles. — Silen from Theatre of Dionysos. — Origin of Satyr and Silen Types. — Attic Tombstones. — Funereal Rites. — Illustrated on Vases. — Variety in Monuments — Tombstones with Sirens, etc. — Variety in Reliefs on Tombs. — Relief of Damasistrate. — Ancient All-Souls' Day. — Dead represented in Paintings, as seated in their Temples. — Ceremonies about Tombs. — Increased Luxury in Tombstones. — Repetition of Same Type. — Tombstone of Polyxene. — Tombstone of Mother with Infant — Tombstone of Amenocleia. — Tombstone of Hegeso, compared with Tombstone from Peiræus — Interpretation of Scenes on Tombstones. — Ideal rendering of Every-day Scenes — Lack of Realism in Treatment usual. — Reliefs representing Repasts. — Lekythos-shaped Tombstones. — Votive Reliefs. — Vignettes on Public Decrees.

WHILE the records of statues of gods and goddesses produced in the fourth century are most numerous, it is noticeable, that, compared with the age of Pheidias, few temples and public buildings were now erected; and consequently architectural sculptures from this age are lacking on Attic soil. A few single statues and many votive and tomb reliefs, however, make up for the lack.

A head in Pentelic marble, found on the southern slope of the Acropolis, and now in the collection of the Archæological Society at Athens, is of such great beauty, and is so characteristic in its treatment, that, even though injured, it is of inestimable value in forming our judgment of this age of scanty remains (Selections, Plate X.). It belonged to a statue from which it has been rudely torn, and represents, in more than life-size forms, not immature and girlish beauty, but the full bloom of ripe womanhood.⁹⁷⁵ The nose, the upper, and a part of the lower, lip, have been sadly injured; but in this noble head, tipped slightly to the right, the gaze seems to reach the distance, as though filled with some delightful emotion. The wavy hair is gathered in a simple knot behind, from which once hung curls, as appears from their points of attachment, still visible. A hole through this knot shows that a bronze pin ran through it, which is now gone; and a bronze band confining the hair has had the fate of the pin. A second band, however, in marble, which passes across the forehead, intertwining in the rich locks, is still visible. On the right side of the head is a piece of now shapeless marble, for which it is difficult to find an explanation. Possibly the goddess rested her head on her hand; or it

may be, that she leaned against some support; but this fragment may be the trace of some peculiar head-ornament. The slightly opened mouth, through which are seen the upper teeth, gives the impression at first sight of singing; but, with the head raised like this in contemplation, it is natural for the lips to open slightly. So new is the cast of this beautiful face, and so remarkable its intensely absorbed expression, that the question becomes a most interesting one, who the goddess may be, represented here. Certainly this face has not the Aphrodite type, there being nothing of the love-seeking, bewitching eye of that goddess, with her expression of immediate presence; neither do we see the cold, imperious Hera. The fact that the head was discovered on the southern slope of the Acropolis, where Pausanias reports the existence of a shrine to Themis, as well as its intensely contemplative, rapt expression, make it probable that this is indeed the inspired prophetess Themis, the counsellor of Zeus, the mother of the Hours, and goddess of order in the universe.⁹⁷⁶ But the rich motherliness of her type seems to point to the goddess *Ge Curotrophos*, the Carer for Youth, who was also worshipped on the same site. A recently discovered inscription happily gives us the key to this beautiful combination of types, teaching us that these goddesses reported by Pausanias as worshipped in separate shrines were in reality revered as one being called *Ge Themis*.⁹⁷⁷

Forgetting for a moment the expression of great soul-beauty beaming through this face, our attention will be drawn to the remarkable handling of the marble, the exquisite use of its translucent effects, producing soft and subtle skin, and, again, its bold, easy treatment in the hair, calling to mind similar peculiarities in Praxiteles' *Hermes*. Indeed, so strong are the reminders here of what the ancients praised in Praxiteles, — the truth to nature which seemed to turn stone to beaming life, — as to leave no doubt, that, if not by that master, it is fully worthy of his great name, and belongs at least to his school. That this head was celebrated in antiquity, appears from a copy made in Roman times, which is now in the Berlin Museum. A comparison of the two heads (*Selections*, Plate X.) will show how the artist of later times smoothed away all the peculiar charms of surface treatment; how, making the eye more naturalistic, he has robbed it of expression; and, finally, how he has left off the curls, and dryly elaborated the hair to suit the taste of his day, sacrificing that exquisite bloom which marks the Athenian head.

Of the architectural monuments of this age in Athens, decorated with sculptures, almost the only one a tall complete is the choragic monument of *Lysicrates*, popularly called the *Lantern of Diogenes*, and erected in accordance with an interesting ancient custom. At the expense of some wealthy citizen, a choir was furnished and drilled for musical or dramatic performances, to add to the brilliancy of the public festivals held in honor of the gods. The contest for a prize, which took place between several such choirs, furnished an attractive feature of these solemnities, and was generally held between the

morning and evening offering. To the leader (*choragos*) of the successful choir was then awarded the prize, usually a brazen tripod, which was put up in a public place, accompanied by an inscription stating the circumstances, and forming a lasting commemoration of the service done to the gods and the state. Frequently small temples were built for the highly prized tripod; and, as many of them decorated the street on the eastern slope of the Acropolis, it was called the Tripod Street. This choragic monument of Lysicrates (Fig. 203) is one of these structures, — a graceful, round building of the Corinthian order, and still stands well-nigh intact. It bears the inscription, —

“Lysicrates of Kikyna, son of Lysitheides, was *choragos*.
The youths of the tribe of Acamantis obtained the victory.
Theon played the flute; Lysiades, an Athenian, was the instructor;
Euainetos was *archon*.”

From other sources, we know that Euainetos was *archon* at Athens in Olymp. III. 2 (335 B.C.); so that we have the exact date of this graceful

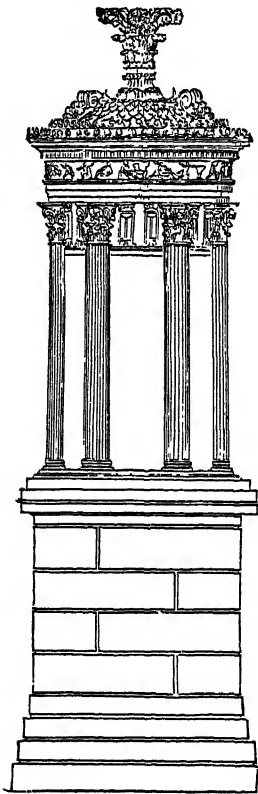


Fig. 203. Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. Athens. (Restored.)

monument, which, when seen by Stuart in the last century, was used by the Capucine monks as a closet in their convent-garden. Of its narrow, sculptured frieze, Lord Elgin took casts to England; and, since that time, the originals have suffered so much from the weather, and from the wantonness of Athenian youth, that the casts of the British Museum have become invaluable. The structure is composed of a quadrangular basement surmounted by a circular Corinthian colonnade, around the top of which runs a narrow frieze (Fig. 204), which should be considered as a continuous relief, beginning and ending with the inscription. The succession of the cuts is indicated by the letters *a, b, c, d*. To the centre of the roof over the whole, it is supposed, was affixed the tripod won in the contest. The story represented in this relief is evidently one sung in the Sixth Homeric hymn to Dionysos, and is brimming full of life and humor. It was said that the god, in the shape of a beautiful youth, about whose head clustered dark, rich curls, and whose form was wrapped in a purple mantle, was one day seen walking on the seashore by Tyrrhenian pirates, who were cruising about. Believing him to be the son of a king, for whom they might obtain a heavy ransom, they seized the god, bound him, and took him

on board their ship. Suddenly the bands loosed themselves from the youthful form; and the helmsman, recognizing the divinity of the prisoner, warned his

ΑΥΤΙΣΤΗΡΗ ΑΥΤΙΣΤΕΡΑΥ ΚΙΝΗΡΗΥ ΕΡΩΠΗΤΕΙ
 ΑΣΑΜΑΝΤΙ ΠΑΛΑΝΕΝΙΚΟ ΕΣΑΝΗΥΑΙ
 ΑΥΤΙΑΜΑΘΗΜΟΙ ΕΑΙ ΠΑΚΕΥΑΙΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΙ



a



b



c



d

Fig 204 Frieze around the Summit of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. Athens (slightly restored).

comrades to desist from their impious course. But in vain : on putting out to sea, behold ! waves of wine flowed over the ship, the god took on the form of a lion, and the affrighted sailors all leaped into the sea, there to be transformed into dolphins. A few touches are added to the story by Ovid, such as that twining ivy bound the oars, and climbed the masts and sails.⁹⁷⁸ In the Athenian monument the sculptor has swung loose from a slavish illustration of the myth. The scene lies on shore : instead of waves of wine, and the god turned into a lion, we see the god surrounded by his faithful attendants, bearded, as well as more youthful and beardless satyrs, a lively, excited crowd, carrying out with unbounded eagerness the god's decrees of punishment. Corresponding well with the running character required of such an encircling frieze, there is no strong centralization of the interest in any one point ; but the eye runs along, ever delighted with new motives. And yet symmetry is retained by placing the god in the centre, the groups on both sides of him corresponding to each other, and yet marked by pleasing variety. Dionysos, larger than the rest, a beautiful, beardless youth, whose flowing curls, bound by a fillet, fall over his shoulders, reposes on a rock, over which is thrown a mantle. Apparently unconcerned about the tumultuous scene taking place around, he strokes his panther, who paws wistfully at the bowl of wine held by the god. As if keeping watch on each side of him are two seated satyrs. One, holding a *thyrsos*, turns uneasily towards Dionysos : the other impatiently clasps the knee. These two figures thus form, as it were, the first steps over to the wild excitement and eager haste of the remaining scenes. We see first, on each side, standing satyrs, engaged with wine in large vases. Another, with back turned to the capacious vase, watches with contented mien the fight beyond, which has grown serious ; and the corresponding satyr on the opposite side, with well-poised step, seems to be offering the bowl he carries to a fellow on the point of departure for the fight. Thus the quieter central scene is adroitly connected with the tempest raging beyond. Here bearded satyrs, or powerful youthful ones, run with burning torches, and swing the barbed *thyrsos*, or short, thick club, over the unhappy pirates, whom they have in several cases already subdued. Others in comical haste jerk off branches of trees, to use against their enemy ; one drags a pirate by the foot towards the sea ; and another is aided by Dionysos' snake, which is curled around the victim's arm, and thrusts its fangs into his shoulder. A few of these unhappy offenders, leaping into the sea to escape the eager satyrs, are already half transformed by the god's unseen power into dolphins, whose lively delight in coming to their element is most amusingly expressed in the marble. Throughout how wiry and strong the forms of these satyrs, so well suited to carry out such severe tasks ! and how admirably is their merry, unbridled character given ! When this sculpture was executed, lighter comedy had crowded into the background severe tragedy ; and, among the Attic people, a keen taste for the

amusing and pleasurable had been developed. In this unpretending frieze the spirit of the time is mirrored; and what glimpses does it give us of the capabilities of art, even as represented by the decorations of a simple private monument! the tall, slender proportions of the figures at the same time showing a departure from the sterner older models.

Among the few public works undertaken in Athens during the fourth century, was the restoration of the Theatre of Dionysos, the ruins of which, within a few years, have been laid open on the southern slope of the Acropolis.⁹⁷⁹ The original time-honored building of wood, which fell in on the occasion of the rival performances of Aeschylus, Choerilos, and Pratinas in 500 B.C., was rebuilt in stone. This theatre, doubtless, suffered in the Persian war, like all the other public buildings in Attica. But the first recorded restorations were made between 343 and 329 B.C., under the direction of Lycurgos, at whose proposal bronze statues of the great trio of tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were put up. Of these bronze figures, no remnant has been found in the recent excavations, but many pedestals that once bore statues have come to light; and it is possible, that in several fine monuments found in Italy we have reminiscences of those portraits worked over into marble. Such, perhaps, is the portrait statue of Sophocles, discovered before 1839, in Terracina, restored in a masterly manner by Tenerani, and now in the Lateran Museum (Fig. 205).⁹⁸⁰ Here we seem to see all the dignity and beauty of manhood in forms so generalized as to produce a magnificent specimen of idealized portraiture. How worthy of the great poet it represents, and how full of benignity and high intelligence, is this face! calling to mind many faces seen in the beautiful Attic tombstones of this century.

Among the sculptures found on the site of this Theatre of Dionysos, and which probably adorned it, is the colossal form of a cowering silen, unfortunately poorly represented in the cut (Fig. 206). His obese form acts as an architectural support, and is the first known example of this kind, but was repeated frequently later.⁹⁸¹ He has lopping ears, and a face strikingly like the busts inscribed Socrates, who was said to have had a silen face. It is a curious and interesting



Fig 205. Statue of Sophocles. Lateran Museum

fact, that the original form for satyrs and silen seems to have been the same ; this silen and the youthful beardless satyrs being developed out of an older conception.⁹⁸² Thus, up to the fifth century, satyrs and silen both are bearded, and have equine tail, hoofs, and ears,—types which had probably been brought by way of the north, as they are seen on coins of Macedonia and Thasos, and on Chalkidian vases. Little by little, through the union of Attic and Peloponnesian elements, the goat character of these sprites seems, in the popular fancy, to have crowded the equine form out of art. By the fourth century the silen, who came to be looked upon as one, the leader, of the youthful crowd of satyrs, received pigs' ears ; while his followers preserved their caprine character, and are represented as youthful, beardless, and so graceful as to be well-nigh perfect human forms. The remaining sculptures found in this theatre are so inferior to this amusing, toiling silen, as probably to belong to a later day, when the theatre seems again to have been repaired.



Fig. 206. Architectural Support in Theatre of Dionysos. A Burdened Silen. Athens.

But while Athens has yielded few masterpieces, witnesses from this fourth century to its wonderful and varied art, yet testimony is not lacking in the great number of tombstones lining the highways about the city, which are now partly removed to the collections of other countries.^{982a} Although the names of most of the sculptors who executed these humbler marbles are not preserved to us, and although the men and women honored by them are unknown to fame, still the spirit manifested in these unpretending sculptures brings us

very near to the innermost life of the Athenians of old, and gives us clear views of family devotion and private virtue, which make these monuments the more precious. We cannot fail to be touched by the sweet spirit of affection that sounds from a metric inscription on a tombstone in the Sabouroff collection. A husband raises it to his wife, putting into her mouth the words, "That all may know my years, twenty-five years old was I when I ceased to see the light of the sun. Of my gentle being and serious-mindedness (*sophrosyne*), my husband knows better than all others of that." Furthermore, these tombstones open up to us priceless glimpses into the spirit of the art of that time, which transformed by its magic wand of ideality all that is limited and fleeting into enduring forms, appealing to our common humanity, and possessed of a sweetness greater than that of the sculpture which preceded, and more delicate than that which followed.

But the erection of the tombstone, with its sculptural ornament, was the central link in a chain of beautiful funereal rites among the ancient Greeks, and gains its proper significance only in connection with these. Before wandering among the ruined homes of the dead, now eagerly explored in search of anti-

quities, and before gazing upon the figured marbles there placed by surviving friends, let us therefore turn aside for a moment to look into an ancient house of mourning. The dying person, having covered his face, breathes his last. Friends close the eyes and mouth of him whose soul has gone to join the shades of the departed; the women and next of kin wash and anoint the body with perfumed oil, and, as though decking it for a feast, wrap it in garments, usually of white, which by Solon were limited to three.⁹⁸³ Preparations are then made for the first of the three principal acts of burial, the solemn *prothesis*, or lying in state. The body is placed on a rich couch in the front vestibule of the house, in view of the street, — a custom still observed in modern Greece. If it is a man, a wreath of leaves is placed upon the brow; but if a lady, born to riches, a diadem of gold; while, for her poorer sister, one of painted terra-cotta takes its place. Holy water, brought from a neighboring house, is placed at the door, for the purification of those who pass out; a similar custom being retained among the Greeks of to-day.⁹⁸⁴ The nearest relations, female servants, invited friends, and hired singers now surround the solemn bier; and the mourning wail is sounded, its refrain being echoed by the whole company. A quaint, painted clay tablet, discovered in Athens, and there preserved, pictures to us one of these funereal scenes; the house being indicated, as was usual in ancient art, by a simple pillar at the left side of the painting.⁹⁸⁵ Here the family are gathered around the rich couch on which lies the dead. His mother is foremost among the women, laying one hand on his pillow, and having the simple word "*mētēr*" inscribed by her side. The inscriptions tell us what each figure is; and we see that grandmother, younger sisters, father, and brothers are all there, the female members of the family standing about the head and sides of the couch, and the males at the foot. The latter, with arms thrown up, as if keeping time, and mouths open, as if in singing, seem to be chanting the sad wail, so often read of, and which consisted of responses, the strophe and antistrophe; while the women, with hands raised to the head, the ever-recurring and significant gesture of mourning, seem to be awaiting their turn to take up the dirge. Such scenes, intended to impress by their sadness, but often grotesque through the artist's lack of skill, are rarely found except on earlier vases. In later times, wedding and other scenes were represented for the tomb; and, even where the dead appears, a different spirit becomes evident. In a scene on a beautiful vase in Athens, belonging to this century, the mourning is not painfully evident; but friends stand, sadly conscious of their loss, about the bier, one at the head having a fan, while little winged figures, representing, as is thought, the fluttering unseen spirit (*eidolon*) of the dead, hover about the group.⁹⁸⁶ The majority of vases of this more highly developed art in Athens show friends sitting in silent thought at the grave, or speaking with a traveller along the highway, who stops to drop a word of comfort to the mourners. Again, and most frequently, friends come to deck the tomb with sacred sashes, or to pour out sweet ointment

from vases.⁹⁸⁷ In one case a beautiful woman, perhaps the deceased herself, seated on the steps of the tomb, is giving gentle expression to her sorrow by letting down her full locks. On each side approaches a sympathizing friend, bringing a basket with gifts for the grave. One holds out an *alabastron* in her right hand; and in both baskets are seen sashes to be added to those already decorating the steps of the grave, and small vases, doubtless full of sweet-scented unguents, to be poured out to the dead or hung on the monument, from the top of which springs a full growth of acanthus. In glancing over the paintings, even on these humble ointment-vases, we see shining out brighter and brighter that beautiful spirit developed among the Greeks, striving to ennoble all it touches. Here the frantic grief of mourning friends turns into the representation of their sweet offices of devotion to the memory of the dead; while the nobler thoughts come, as a matter of course, to be expressed in nobler forms.

But to return to the ancient house of mourning: the first sad duty of the *prothesis* accomplished, the second is undertaken. The night passed, the procession leaves the house before the rising of the sun, in order that the rays of Helios may not touch the dead, banished now to dwell in the shades of the under-world. The course of this solemn train in winding through the narrow streets was fixed by law, and it was forbidden that the mourners should give violent expression to their grief. A woman, bearing a vase for the libations at the grave, heads the procession; and slaves of the house, or, if the dead is a man of note, chosen citizens, bear him, or horses draw the open hearse upon which he lies, while mourners, accompanied by the music of flutes, keep up their sad wail.^{987a} Before the dead, walked the men of the funeral train, while behind followed the nearest female relatives, all clad in sombre robes of gray or black, and, it is said, as a principal sign of grief, having the hair of the head cut short, some of the locks being placed in the hand of the dead or laid beside him in the grave. Having called the departed by name for the last time, thus taking a solemn farewell, and having placed in the mouth the coin to fee the inexorable ferryman Charon, friends lowered the body into the grave; often, however, cremation took the place of burial. These coins with the dead have been found, of which there is an interesting specimen in the British Museum. It is a small silver coin, still united to the jawbone, and was found in a beautiful urn from a tomb in Athens. With it was found a small but exquisitely modelled figure of a Siren kneeling on a rock, and tearing her hair in expression of intense grief; this figure is to be seen in the gallery beside the coin. A burial scene is also preserved to us on an ancient vase, where four slaves let the body down into the grave.⁹⁸⁸ There, as excavations have shown, the body was surrounded with vases, vessels, and small images. In one grave near Athens, which was opened in the presence of Benndorf, were found more than a dozen graceful and gayly painted small

vases, arranged in several rows over the body of the dead. The numberless Tanagra figurines, and especially those being excavated at Myrina in Asia Minor, testify to the lavishness with which the dead were surrounded with statuettes.⁹⁸⁹ Some of them seem to have had reference to the gods of the under-world and their worship, while the greater part appear to have been intended to make sociable the last home of the departed. In children's graves have been found toys, many of which are to be seen in the British Museum; in like manner, favorite garments and food are said frequently to have been laid away with the dead. If a large number of bodies were to be interred, as was the case after battles, the same ceremonies were performed; and, in Athens at least, a funeral oration was pronounced over those who had fallen. When all was over, the friends gathered in remembrance of the dead, and, for the first time, partook of food, as did Niobe in mythic times. This custom obtained also in other lands, for King David observed it after the death of his child; and it seems to be echoed in modern Greece, in the portioning-out of food among the relatives on the evening after the funeral. While these ceremonies were thus strictly observed, corresponding care was taken with the place of burial. This, in earliest times, was in the dwelling itself of the deceased, as may be gathered from ancient writers, and from the finding of more than a hundred graves among the houses of the oldest part of Athens.⁹⁹⁰ The great highways without the city walls became, however, the usual place of sepulture, where burial monuments lined the way, recalling to the passer-by the memory of departed generations. Thus, beyond the Dipylon, the broadest and finest of the city-gates, along the roads over which the traveller passed on his way to the busy harbor, or to the sacred shrines of Eleusis, were the tombs of many private families, as well as of distinguished statesmen like Pericles and his compatriots. Here each battle-field, except sacred Marathon, was represented; and monuments were erected over the bodies of the fallen, piously brought to this spot. When the remains could not be recovered, memorial tombs were erected for the lost. Here, as we gather from those exquisitely colored paintings on numbers of vases discovered recently in Athens, and mentioned above, friends decorated the grave with signs of victory, gayly colored sashes, or fresh wreaths. For this purpose, was often used the evergreen ivy of Dionysos, god of mysteries, in whom the Greeks recognized the idea of new life; sometimes the deep-colored rose which sprang from Adonis' blood was used, or the acanthus. Around the most important tombs were planted groves of cypress, poplar, willow, and elm, sacred to Kore, the goddess who passed the winter-months in the cheerless under-world, and took her place again in Olympus with returning spring. These monuments of the dead, with their precincts, were regarded as consecrated spots; and to disturb them was an act of sacrilege, to prevent which stringent laws were passed. The tombs seem to have been looked upon as temples to the dead, just as the temples proper were

often considered the tombs of the gods; and so graves became the scene of many religious offerings. Slain beasts, we are told, were brought to appease the lower gods, and make easy the reception of the departed, who, it was believed, until he had tasted of blood in which there was life, would not rest from wandering in darkness and pitiable unconsciousness. Upon the anniversary of death, and upon other stated days, further offerings of food and drink were brought to the graves. Traces of this custom have been found in many tombs; and a relic of it seems still to exist in certain parts of Greece, in the custom of pouring libations of dark wine upon graves on anniversary days.⁹⁹¹ The care of the ancients for the last dwelling of their loved ones did not, however, end here. The tombstones were washed, and anointed with sweet-smelling sacred oil; upon them also were hung garlands of flowers and vases of perfume, these love-offerings being accompanied with prayers to the gods. Thus it is said by Plutarch, in his life of Aristides, that the *archons*, once every year, washed and anointed the tombstones of those who fell in the battle of Plataiai; and it is a well-known fact, that there was in Attica a yearly festival for the dead,—an ancient All-Souls' Day. On vases from Southern Italy, the dead are represented as seated in their little temples, receiving libations and offerings from friends.

The monuments about which friends once thus gathered, performing their solemn rites, were of different sizes, shapes, and styles, varying with the locality, the wealth of the people, and the times. In the rich satrapies of Asia Minor, they were often extensive structures, such as the so-called Nereid monument from Xanthos. Often they attained colossal size, like the celebrated mausoleum at Halicarnassos, and called into play for years the activity of distinguished sculptors. In Greece the tomb-monument appears to have been much less pretentious; but great variety of form prevailed, the fierce lion of Cheroneia towering above the fallen warriors of the unhappy battle-field being in strong contrast to the humbler monuments of private persons. Surveying this vast array, we find, that, while sculptured tombstones from the olden time were numerous in Attica, almost none are preserved from the fifth century B.C., that great age of triumph over the Persians, when temples were built and colossal chryselephantine statues were erected to the gods. The *archon* Eubulides, however, about 400 B.C., gave the official signature permitting grave-stones in Attica to be made larger; and, soon after that, sculptured tombstones began to appear in Athens in great numbers, perpetuating in their subjects what was most beautiful and sacred in life.⁹⁹² The form gradually changed, monuments of the rich being made more imposing than in olden times. The confined space of the older monuments—doubtless due to Solon's laws restricting extravagance—became more ample, the tomb being frequently modelled after the front of a temple, having a pediment, supported usually by two pilasters, between which were placed figures in relief, seated or standing, as if

occupying the temple. These tombstones, having at first figures about half life size, grew larger until they attained heroic proportions. But the law of Demetrios Phalereos, toward the end of the fourth century, again restricted their size. The chapel-like form of tombstones had reference, doubtless, to their sacred character; for the pediment was a holy symbol, pertaining to the house of the deity, and was not used about the dwellings of mortals. This shape was, moreover, advantageous for the artist, since it gave him a retreating background for his figures. In the monuments from the earlier part of this century these are in very low relief; but as they increase in size, the relief becomes higher, until the figures seem to be full statues, seated within their shrines. This appears on comparing the quiet monument of Hegeso, having much of the simplicity of the Parthenon frieze, with that of the two Athenian ladies, Demetria and Pamphile, now in Athens. Frequently the number of figures represented does not correspond with the number of persons mentioned in the inscription; and it would seem that the work was often not intended for any particular family or individual, but was made applicable by the addition of an appropriate inscription. The heads are often made of separate pieces of marble subsequently affixed; this occurs even in reliefs of the best period: and it is an interesting fact, that often painting and sculpture are combined on the same monument. Sometimes the grave was adorned with a simple column or standard, surmounted by the figure of a Siren, with head and body of a female, and the legs and wings of a bird, a lyre being frequently borne on the arm. We are at a loss to know whether these birds represented to the Greeks the singing of the funeral dirge, or those beings which, as poetry tells us, were thought to attach themselves to the souls wandering over the asphodel-fields of Hades, and to instruct the dead in the laws of the gods. By their music, we are told, they banished all memory of earthly things from the minds of the deceased, and filled them with love to the eternal and divine. When placed on the graves, the Sirens would thus become the symbol of never-ending lament for the dead, and, at the same time, of comfort to the survivors, who were reminded that their loved ones were in safe keeping. Sophocles called them the daughters of Phorkys, who sing the ways of Hades; and Euripides called them the winged virgin daughters of earth, sent by Kore to comfort the mourner with their plaintive music. A Siren was the simple but significant decoration over the grave of the great Sophocles himself. A huge Siren of Pentelic marble, playing a shell lyre, was discovered outside of the Dipylon at Athens, and is now in the museum of the Theseion. Others appear simply in relief in the pediment of the monument, sometimes tearing their hair, but usually playing upon various musical instruments. Of the latter class, one of the best-preserved examples is a small tombstone, found in Athens, but now belonging to the Berlin Museum (Fig. 207). Here we see above the lady, busy with her bracelet, and the attentive maid, two Sirens facing one another. Although somewhat rudely executed,

still the earnestness with which one of the Sirens strikes her lyre, and the other blows her double flute, is unmistakable, and forms a strange but significant contrast to the familiar every-day scene taking place below. Another form of Attic tombstone has only recently been understood. It is the half figure placed upon the grave; one example of which, to be seen in Athens, is most effective, though the hair and other parts are left unfinished. A veiled woman here appears before us, represented only to the waist. Her hand fingering her veil, and her bended head, give an expression of sorrow which is more impressive than any gesture of violent grief, and must have been most touching in the figure as it looked down from its ancient monument upon the passer-by.

In the numerous reliefs on tombstones, there is also a most pleasing variety, although the range of subjects is limited. The sculptors do not tire of repre-



Fig. 207. Tombstone with
Sirens. Berlin.

sented nearly the same scene over and over again; but it is done with such exquisite variations, that the subject seems always new. These scenes may be broadly classed in two great divisions,—those which are reminiscences of life, giving us, not actual portraits of the dead, as in earlier and in later times, but their common affections, favorite occupations, or general traits in representations of ideal form; and those of the second class, which seem to have been developed towards the close of the fourth century, in which the dead are represented as heroes and are worshipped by their families and kin. To the former class belong those vigorous reliefs which show us a strong youth engaged in close combat with an enemy. Fine instances of these are the tombstone of Dexileos, found at Athens, and another

of heroic size in the Villa Albani. In some cases the relief shows us the manner in which the deceased came to his end. If he was a shipwrecked sailor, he is represented as seated sadly on the shore in front of his ship. Oftener, however, the scene is taken from daily occupations, from family gatherings, or sports in the wrestling-school. Of wonderfully perfect composition and execution is a tombstone, now in Athens, the figures of which are in heroic size. A glorious youth, in the full vigor of early manhood, and the very picture of graceful life, rests at ease on his mantle, which is thrown carelessly over a slab surmounting two steps.⁹⁹³ He looks quietly out into the world, apparently undisturbed by the earnest gaze of the draped older man, who with one hand thoughtfully resting on his beard, and the other clasping a long cane, forms a speaking contrast to the freedom and unconsciousness of his happier young companion, who is doubtless the deceased. In one hand the youth holds a short, knotty club; his little attendant quietly sleeps at his feet, while, on the other side, his vigilant hound keeps watch with nostrils to the ground. Unhappily no inscription accompanies this grand monument, to tell us whom its

noble forms commemorate, or what artist with masterly hand here executed a work destined to outlive the fleeting years and memories of his age, to be a joy to later generations.

Many of these tombstone scenes represent the family and friends gathered about the chair of one of their number, who is always larger than the rest. In



Fig 208 Tombstone of Damasistrate. Athens.

these, remarkable tenderness of feeling is expressed, as the friends look into one another's faces, and join hands. In a relief at Athens, which the inscription tells us is of Damasistrate, daughter of Polycleides, it is, probably, the latter who holds the hand of the seated lady (Fig. 208). As she looks affectionately into his face, she fingers her veil, and seems to speak. Even the

servant, in long sleeves and house-cap, behind her chair, takes an eager interest in the conversation ; while the friend or sister, in the background, stands sadly with head bent forward, and one finger resting suggestively against it. What a poem on friendship we may read in these simple, speaking gestures ! and how can we sufficiently admire a people who made these common, every-day scenes

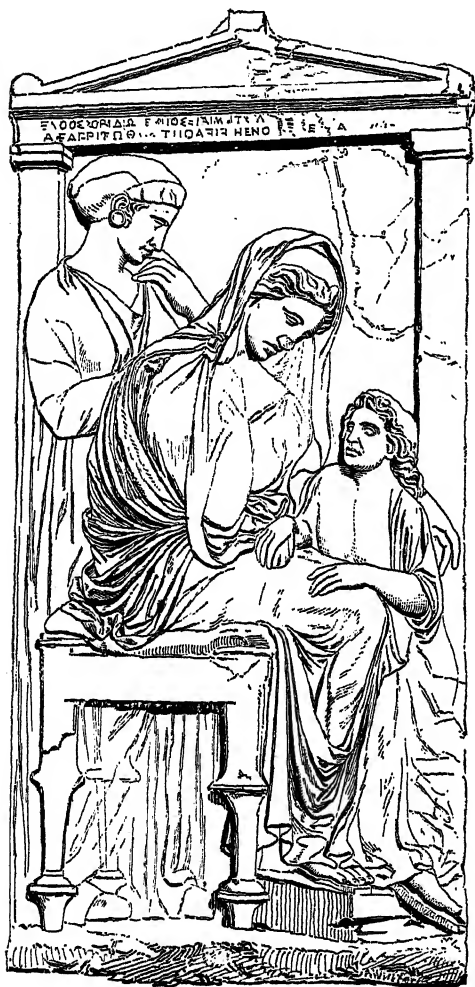


Fig. 209. Tombstone of Polyxene. Athens.

the vehicle of expressing so much that is noblest and best ? A mother's love could not be more touchingly told than in another but also fragmentary relief in Athens (Fig. 209), where a mother, Polyxene, bends gently forward over her child, and embraces it with her left arm, while, with the right hand, she holds the matronly veil in place. Her servant is evidently a deep sympathizer in the family sorrow ; the touching metric inscription tells us besides of the mourning of husband and parents, who are, however, not represented. In one of the family scenes on a tombstone relief in the collection of M. Sabouroff, Russian ambassador in Berlin, we have perhaps artistically the most exquisite example of these works. Its well-nigh complete forms, which the restorer's hand has not touched, give fully the harmony and grace of these subjects, and show, besides, the sculptor's fertility in making variations upon the favorite theme. On one beautiful tombstone (Fig. 210), now in Athens, appears a young and most graceful woman,

seated on a chair, holding in her lap her box of jewellery, or adornments, while she looks placidly up at a friend, who regards her with great concern and affection. An infant in swaddling-clothes, held by another friend, doubtless indicates that the mourned-for was a young mother ; and the sleeved arm at the back of her chair shows that her faithful serving-maid was not lacking. Thus we see that, if family gatherings are depicted, there are no violent signs of sorrow, but many of domestic peace and joy, tinged with faint suggestions of sadness, more elevating and ennobling than unbridled lamentation.

When ladies appear, busy with the toilet, in every case there is so much dignity and grace about the whole, that it does not seem a trivial act, but the expression of womanly fondness for a graceful exterior, and an intuitive longing to win love by beautifying the person. Such is the tombstone, now in Athens, of Amenocleia, daughter of Andromenos the Athenian (Fig. 211). She appears standing within her little temple-like chapel, steadying herself on the servant's kerchiefed head, and holding one foot out, in order that the latter may arrange her sandal, in which operation the lady appears much absorbed. Opposite her stands another, apparently higher in station than the kneeling maid. She wears no cap or long sleeves, but appears as richly attired as Amenocleia herself. In her hand she holds ready the casket, which has often been looked upon as a sacred incense-holder; but the frequent recurrence of reliefs, in which the lady lifts from such a box a veil, shows clearly that it is not connected with religious rites, but simply with the toilet, and contains articles of personal adornment. In the toilet scene on the Siren tombstone, mentioned on p. 495, a seated lady, wearing large round earrings, a band in her hair, and a veil almost dropping from the back of the head, appears, clasping about her wrist a bracelet which she may have taken from a casket held by her no less graceful companion. The latter has ready also a fan, and seems much pleased with the adornment of the lady who is seated. The Sirens above them, alone remind us that this scene concerns those who have entered the realm of the departed. A



Fig. 210 Tombstone representing Mother, Infant, and Friends Peiræus

comparison of two of the most beautiful of these toilet-scenes will show the change which seems to have led to the decided expression of sadness on tombstones of later date, even when such a simple subject is represented. The older of these reliefs (as we may judge from its style), one of the noblest monuments of the kind, and discovered but a few years ago near Athens, once stood over the grave of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos (Fig. 212). It is of Pentelic marble, and in the form of a small temple, with pediment. Between its pilasters appear two beautiful women in profile. One is seated on a graceful chair, with feet resting on an artistic footstool, usually the sign of rank in ancient Greek sculpture. She looks with a gentle, womanly expression at some object probably once painted, which she has taken from a casket, and which is here held open by a companion standing before her. The striking contrast between these two figures is significant. The one seated is richly clad, a veil falls over her head, and a short sleeved *chiton*, buttoned over the shoulder, drapes her graceful form;

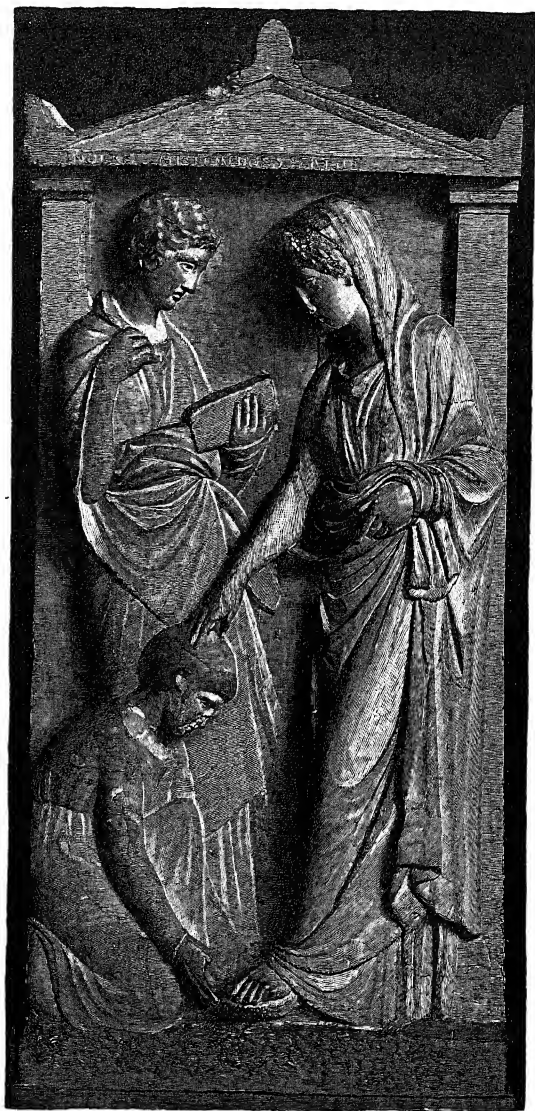


Fig. 211. Tombstone of Amenocleia, daughter of Andromenos. Athens.

her feet are sandalled ; her hair is elaborately arranged, being gathered behind into a net-like headdress ; two fillets wind through the wavy front locks, which are separated from the forehead by a low diadem. The unaffected elegance of this lady, "to the manner born," is evident in the easy pose, the bended head, and the graceful dainty play of the fingers ; while becoming simplicity marks the servant who holds the casket. A long *chiton*, with tightly fitting sleeves, clothes in easy folds this smaller form, whose feet are entirely covered by shoes ; but her beautiful face is so like that of her mistress, that the two might be taken for sisters, were it not for the outward signs of distinction in rank. Contrasting Hegeso's figure with that of Philis from Thasos (Selections, Plate II.), how near of kin seem the two, and yet how much more refined in style the Athenian sculpture ! Before this beautiful Hegeso tombstone could be seen by competent judges, it had been thoroughly washed by its ignorant owners, and the last traces of color, which once gave it the necessary finish in detail, had been entirely obliterated. In the base there is still a round hole, which doubtless often received the libations brought by kindred. In determining the age of this relief, the exquisite grace, devoid of all luxurious fulness, and the mere shadow of emotion flitting over the faces, as well as the harmonious adherence to true relief, remind us forcibly of the general style and treatment of the Parthenon frieze. Nothing more is expressed than the noble, beautiful character of the persons, as they are absorbed, without affectation, in the attractions of the toilet. These features of its art lead to the conclusion that this relief belongs to the beginning of the fourth century. By way of comparison, let us turn to that other relief now in the Peiraieus (Fig. 213), and found there in the vast necropolis. We are struck by the similarity, in composition and general treatment, to the group of Hegeso and her maid ; but yet the spirit breathed is different, showing a change in funeral art. The casket seems to be opened reluctantly ; and the lady to be adorned sits bent in sadness, quite absorbed in thought, and but little inclined to interest herself in its contents. Such is the gentle pathos of her pose, that we seem to be able to divine her thoughts, and the sadness of life cut short takes possession of our souls.

While some have looked upon these scenes on tombstones as representing the happy re-union in Elysium and its occupations,⁹⁹⁴ the larger number of the students of antiquity consider them but the simple, unaffected mirror of Athenian life, without mysterious reference to the hopes and joys of another world, such as was usual in Roman times. The absence of individuality, the strongly conventional type in the figures of these tombstones, is further explained as the expression of a peculiarity in the Greek civilization of that time, which regarded humanity in broad classes, and emphasized general characteristics. Thus, in art, the shades of personal character are merged in certain types, as the athlete, warrior, or husband ; and woman appears simply as maiden, wife, or mother.



Fig. 212. Tombstone of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos. Athens.



Fig. 213. Tombstone. Peiraeus.

In another large class of tomb reliefs, the idea of a repast is indicated, as seen in a relief found in Athens (Fig. 214), where a bearded man, probably the deceased himself, reclines on a couch, holding extended a saucer. At his feet sits, doubtless, his wife, sharing in the feast of good things usually in these reliefs spread on a gracefully shaped table before them, but here omitted. The dog, as so often seen in funereal representations, originally with a religious significance, here quietly gnaws his bone. A nude cup-bearer stands by, ready with the vase and pitcher to pour out the drink required; and a friend is at the head of the couch. Frequently, in reliefs of this class, the symbolic snake also curls up by the head of the bed. Sometimes the figure of the

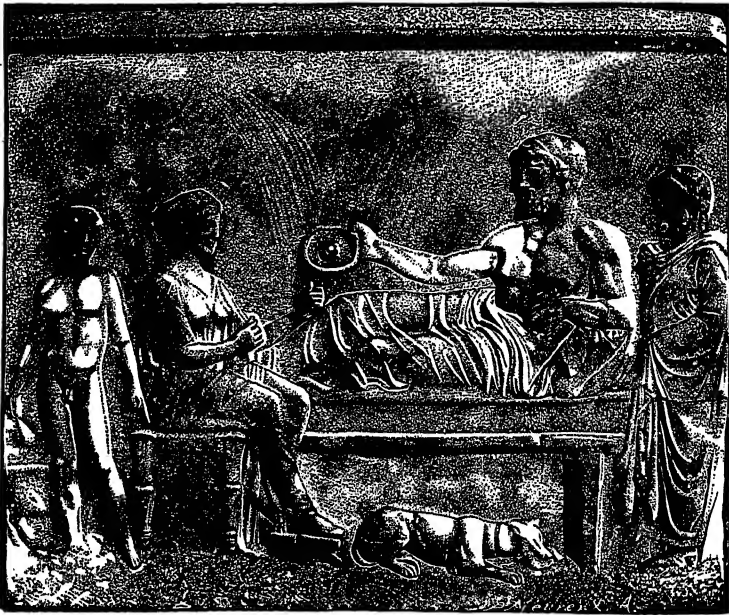


Fig. 214. Tombstone on which is represented a Repast. Athens.

deceased wears a *modius*, showing, perhaps, that now he has become a divinity of the under-world. Sometimes smaller relatives stand by looking on, or approach in attitude of adoration, bringing a swine for offering; and frequently a horse's head, or a row of riders, is carved in one corner of the slab. The significance of this class of scenes has been most variously interpreted; but there can be little doubt that it concerns the worship of the dead himself, and grew out of the custom of bringing offerings of food and drink to the departed, or perhaps more directly from the funeral repast held about the grave.⁹⁹⁵ The horse, like the dog appearing in the earlier reliefs, may have been a religious symbol; but in the later, where groups of riders sometimes appear, he may have been introduced to indicate the rank or profession of the deceased. Of these tombstone reliefs representing feasts given to the dead, there exists, as

we have seen, in archaic Greek art, one single instance; from the age of Pheidias, none are preserved; but from the following century exists the slab described above, assigned to that time on account of its excellence. The remainder of these reliefs, exceeding two hundred and thirty in number, belong to a later period; many dating, apparently, from the declining years of the Roman Empire. Here the interest consists less in the art-character than in the peculiar faiths it opens up. While by far the greater part of these tombstone reliefs are to men, in some cases an inscription designating the deceased as a *heros*, there are a few also to women. An interesting inscription on an Attic tombstone of this class, now in Nice, shows that they were not merely ordinary funeral monuments, but were regarded in the light of votive offerings to the dead, just as similar offerings were brought to the gods.⁹⁹⁶ How far this votive character applied to all tombstone reliefs, is uncertain.

Continuing our wanderings among the abodes of the dead, we shall find that still another favorite and beautiful monument in Attica, in the fourth century B. C., was a long, slender marble vase in the shape of a colossal ointment-vase (*lekythos*), sometimes decorated with reliefs (Fig. 215). On one of these a beautiful figure (Myrrine) is led away by Hermes. On another we see a curious bit of side-play by the sculptor. In addition to the high relief surrounding the front of the vase, and representing a mounted youth, and others on foot, there is scratched in, under the handle of



Fig. 215. Tombstones in shape of the *Lekythos*. Athens.

the vase, a relief of such grace that we regret that the sculptor did not follow out his fancy, and finish his sketch. We trace here the outlines of a beautiful woman busy with her toilet, and looking at something in her raised right hand, while she listens to a remark concerning it, made by a young girl leaning confidently on her shoulder, and pointing to the object held.

Besides these numerous tomb monuments, there have also been found in Athens very many votive reliefs, which are clearly the work of the fourth century. They are unlike the reliefs of the preceding age, in that they are more pretentious, both in composition, and in the number of figures introduced, and seem to represent some actual religious rite taking place within the temple. Such are the reliefs to Asclepios (Fig. 216), which seem to show



Fig. 216. Votive Relief to Asclepios and Hygieia. Athens.

the inside of a temple in its longitudinal section.⁹⁹⁷ The altar stands in the centre; and behind it sits the noble, but sadly fragmentary, figure of the god Asclepios. Standing beside him is the colossal form of Hygieia, looking complacently down on the family of worshippers, approaching with the ram for offering struggling to get away from a small attendant. The first two worshippers, doubtless the father and mother, raise the right hand in adoration; while the remainder are occupied with bringing other offerings, or have not yet joined in actual devotion. How different from the uniformly low relief of the votive slabs of the Pheidian age (p. 378), the much higher relief here used, with its deep shadows and strong lights, as well as the representation in full front view of so many of the figures, and the elaborate drapery! We see evidently, even in this humble slab, the richer, more luxurious character of the art of this age.

The reliefs at the head of public decrees of this time, found in Athens, are especially interesting, as their dates can be positively fixed. They show the gradual progress from simpler to more elaborate forms; while those of the later years of the century grow careless in execution, and with its close entirely disappear. One of these reliefs, a vignette at the head of a treaty made with Corkyra in 375 B.C., shows us a seated male figure of dignified mien, conversing with a standing female draped like Kephisodotos' Eirene, but holding her veil with one hand. Athena, helmeted, stands by, attentively listening to the diplomatic conversation going on between the man, who doubtless represents the powerful *demos* of Athens, and the veiled woman representing the weaker state, — the island of Corkyra, as the inscription indicates. In another of these vignettes, dated 362 B.C., Athena stands with bended head while the treaty is being closed with Macedonia; the whole style of the relief being less severe, and Athena's pose full of serious contemplation, as becoming to the goddess of the discomfited Athenian state.⁹⁹⁸

From all the shattered monuments found in Athens, — from the playful reliefs of the choragic monument of Lysicrates to the sad tombstones and the votive reliefs of the pious, — we see how truly ideal the bent of art in Attica, during the century of a Praxiteles and a Scopas. And the more we study these monuments, even though we are robbed of the famous masterpieces of their time, the higher grows our sense of the beautifully poetic and truly human character of the age that gave them birth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LYSIPPOS AND THE ARGIVE-SIKYON SCHOOL DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Artists in Argos. — Subjects treated. — Art in Sikyon. — Lysippos. — Reports concerning him. — Multitude of his Works. — His Zeus. — Poseidon. — Caïros — Representations of Lesser Gods — Heracles. — Portraiture. — Portraits and Statues of Alexander. — Attempts to trace Lysippos' Originals in Later Works. — Other Portraits. — Athletes — Apoxyomenos. — Proportions of this Statue. — Lysippos' Success in representing Animal Life. — Characteristics of his Art. — Lysippos' Brother, Lysistratos.

TURNING from Attica, and its wide-spread artistic activity of the fourth century, to the Peloponnesos, we shall find there, also, masters of name, but having, as in the previous century, a narrower range in their art than their Attic contemporaries. In Argos, which, with its Polycleitos, had been the beacon light in the fifth century B.C., there must still have existed an independent school during the early half of the next century. Polycleitos' pupils and their contemporaries were now working there. These were Polycleitos the younger, his brother Daidalos, Antiphanes of Argos, Cleon of Sikyon, and others of minor fame. Some of these men, already mentioned in connection with the great votive offerings for Aigospotamoi, were also employed in the execution of an extensive thank-offering made by the Arcadians, led on by the Tegeans, for a victory won over the Lakedaimonians, 369 B.C.⁹⁹⁹ Antiphanes' scholar Cleon from Sikyon, according to Pausanias, executed for Olympia, in 388 B.C., the first statue of Zeus from fines taken from the delinquent athletes; and the pedestal of this very statue has been discovered at Olympia with Cleon's name.¹⁰⁰⁰ Judging from the subjects mentioned, Argive sculpture, at this time, does not appear to have developed ideals of the gods, but occupied itself with statues of athletes and heroes. Between Argos and Sikyon, judging from the hints given us as to the nativity of the different masters, there seems to have been a lively artistic interchange; but, by the time of Alexander the Great, Sikyon appears to have pressed time-honored Argos permanently into the background.¹⁰⁰¹

The glory of Sikyon art now centres about the great Lysippos, who was for the Peloponnesos what his contemporaries Scopas and Praxiteles were for Attica. A native of Sikyon, he commenced life as a plain worker in metal

(*ærarius*).¹⁰⁰² He is said to have been encouraged to undertake an artistic career, by a remark of his celebrated fellow-countryman, the Sikyon painter Eupompos; who, being asked which among his predecessors he had taken as his model, pointed to a crowd gathered near at hand, and exclaimed, "Nature herself is to be followed, not any artist!"¹⁰⁰³ But Lysippos did not study nature alone; he made the works of the older masters his study as well. Varro reports of him, that he copied not the failings of the earlier men, but their best attainments; and Cicero says, more definitely, that he called Polycleitos' Canon his instructor; and the fact that he worked exclusively in bronze seems to indicate affinities with his great Peloponnesian forerunner.¹⁰⁰⁴ But Lysippos was an innovator in the traditional method of representing the human form. Pliny says, that, for the further development of art, Lysippos accomplished great things, in that he expressed the character of the hair, made the heads smaller than the older masters, and the bodies more slender and lean, so that his statues seemed taller. "The Latin," he adds, "has no word for the symmetry which Lysippos most carefully observed, and by which, in a new way, he changed the square (*quadrata*) statues of the ancients. Of these older masters, Lysippos used to say, that they represented man as he is, but that he himself represented man according to his appearance; or [following another translation] as he should be."¹⁰⁰⁵ Again, we read of the elegance of his work, and of the finenesses, even in the least details.¹⁰⁰⁶ Quintilian emphasizes his truth to nature, coupling his name with Praxiteles; and Propertius speaks of the life-likeness, or *anima*, of his works, thus using a term frequently applied also to Myron.¹⁰⁰⁷ From being a humble worker in metal, Lysippos advanced to the fore-front in the art-ranks of his day, furnishing colossal statues to distant lands, and, indeed, becoming Alexander's chosen sculptor. It is believed that his artistic career commenced early in the century, perhaps soon after 372 B.C., when Troilos, for whom he executed a statue, won at Olympia; but Pliny places Lysippos' prime at 328 B.C. (Olymp. 113).¹⁰⁰⁸ In an epigram, he is spoken of as an aged, gray-haired man; and late in the century, after Alexander's death, he was still employed by the Macedonian rulers, having designed for Cassander, after the founding of Cassandreia, 316 B.C. (Olymp. 116. 1), peculiar vases for the famous wine of the neighborhood.¹⁰⁰⁹ In this long period of activity, extending over well-nigh sixty years, he is said by Pliny to have produced more works than any other master, and of such excellence that any one of them would have made him celebrated.¹⁰¹⁰ The story is, that, after securing the pay for each completed work, Lysippos laid aside from it one gold *denarius*; and that after his death, when the box was broken open by his heirs, the number of pieces found was fifteen hundred. Such incredible activity can only be accounted for by the fact that this master worked exclusively in bronze, for which he would need to prepare only the models, leaving their casting to his large school of assistants.

Of this army of bronze statues, many of those in Greece were removed to

Rome; and, of many others, no notice is preserved to us. Judging from those of which records exist, Lysippos represented but few gods, and of these less frequently the youthful than the older deities of Olympus; Zeus appearing four times among his works, and Poseidon once. Of his statues of Zeus, all in bronze, one was in the market-place of Lysippos' native town, Sikyon; another, a standing figure, and an object of worship, in the Temple of Zeus Nemeios, in the neighboring Argos; and a third grouped with the Muses in a temple at

Megara.¹⁰¹¹ Lysippos' most celebrated Zeus was, however, a colossus in Tarentum, said to have measured about twenty meters in height, and to have been only second in size to the Colossus of Rhodes by his pupil Chares.¹⁰¹² But the silence of ancient authors about these Zeus representations, and the lack of any reproductions of them, leave us no means of judging of their character.

Of his statues of Poseidon, one cursorily mentioned by Lucian has been shown by Lange to have been in all probability the great Poseidon Isthmios, which, in its pose, was the canon for later Poseidon ideals, as remotely reflected for us in numerous gems, coins, statues, and reliefs, the best known being a statue in the Lateran.¹⁰¹³ From these representations of the god, varying in their minor attributes, it is evident that Lysippos' Poseidon stood quietly leaning forward, and resting the right arm on his right knee, raised by placing the foot upon an elevated base. This remarkable attitude, first applied, as Lange believes, by Lysippos to statuary, was doubtless suggested by athletes at rest in the *palæstra*. The older masters had represented the athletes in most varied action, —

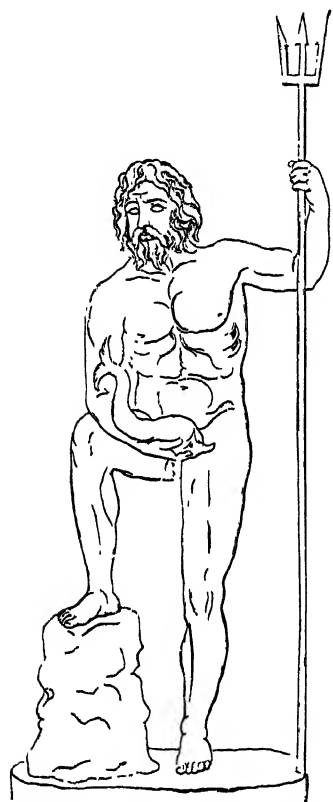


Fig. 217. Poseidon Isthmios. (Lange's Restoration.)

hurling the disk, dropping the oil, or carrying the spear; and there was nothing left for Lysippos but to represent them in repose. From this, as Lange reasons, it was only one step more to apply the situation to the active, powerful ruler of the seas. To give the god a more majestic appearance, his raised left hand held the trident, or sceptre, planted firmly on the ground; and in his right hand was probably held a small dolphin (Fig. 217). Of the peculiar excellences of Lysippos' Poseidon, of the ideal expressed in the head which we may suppose looked off commandingly into the distance, we are unfortunately as little able to judge through the later reproductions, as we are of Pheidias' Zeus or Athena through their later variations. The engraving, which gives

the Poseidon of the Lateran with the addition of the proper attributes, indicates that the general scheme of the statue emphasized splendid physical force in the great "Shaker of the Seas."

Among the youthful gods to whom Lysippos gave form, none have attained the celebrity enjoyed by a Cairos (Favorable Opportunity) which originally stood in a temple-court at Sikyon, and, later, was removed to Constantinople. Cairos was to the people of Lysippos' day, as Curtius has shown, an actual god, believed to influence men at critical moments, when sudden decision was required, and leading them to the proper improvement of every fleeting opportunity.¹⁰¹⁴ He was the god of the *palaestra*, a radiation of Hermes as it were; having, like the latter, an altar in Olympia. In the medical art, he had, naturally, great influence, and by Menander was named the god and teacher of mankind. He is called upon continually, in Sophocles' *Electra*, as the prompter and helper to every deed of daring. But this god, so peculiar and subtle in his being, naturally received from poetic fancy many different attributes, which came to be multiplied and elaborated as time went on. As has been beautifully said, the Cairos' ideal is like a folk-melody which has been sung and resung until it has so many variations that it is well-nigh impossible to recognize from among them the original simple strains. From the numerous epigrams on the Cairos of Lysippos (whether a statue or relief is unknown), it has been thought that it represented a slender youth with bashful mien and downy chin, a long lock hanging over the brow, while, behind, the hair was too short to be caught. His feet were winged, his toes resting on a rolling ball, indicating, that in a twinkling, if not seized by the forelock, the lucky moment would be far out of reach.¹⁰¹⁵ In the hands, the epigrams give him a pair of scales, the symbol of fluctuating fortune, and a sharp-edged razor. Thus is placed before us an elaborate, but exceedingly frosty, allegory, which, on account of its recondite significance, is lacking in the direct warmth of true poetry. The same character seems to run through the few plastic representations of this god preserved to us. From the fragment of a simple beautiful relief found in Athens, and a more complete one in Turin, down to a still later one in Torcello near Venice, can be traced this multiplication of attributes, quite contrary to the spirit of true plastic art. As these, however, are nearly all late Roman works, we have no assurance that they approximate the Lysippian original. The poetical epigrams may have given descriptions of the Cairos by Lysippos which are not to be taken literally, but understood in the same manner as the sayings about Myron's famous cow. Removing the confusing and unplastic attributes ascribed to Cairos, such as the ugly forelock, the sharp-edged razor, the balancing scales, and rolling ball, there remains a lightly moving youth, speeding over the ground, but hardly touching it with the tips of his winged feet, as the original form in which, without any positive *data*, we may believe that Lysippos conceived and represented Cairos, the special god

of athletes, producing a figure the direct outgrowth perhaps of the study of athletic frames and attitudes, in which the master excelled.

Of Lysippos' representations of other youthful gods, we know even less than of this much-discussed *Cairos*. A *quadriga* with the Rhodian sun-god, by him, so pleased Nero, that, in a burst of barbarous enthusiasm, he caused it to be covered with gold. But this treatment so detracted from the artistic worth of the work, that the removal of the precious metal at a later day was considered only to have increased its value, even though ugly scars were left behind.¹⁰¹⁶ An obscure passage in an ancient author leaves it uncertain whether Lysippos represented *Hermes* and *Apollo* struggling for the lyre; *Lucian* mentions a bronze *Dionysos* by him; *Pliny* tells of a satyr from his hand, in Athens; and *Pausanias*, of a bronze *Eros* in *Thespiai*, put up after the consecration of *Praxiteles'* *Eros* in marble.¹⁰¹⁷

The master's numerous representations of *Heracles*, the powerful, much-enduring hero, doubtless exercised great influence on later art. This victorious combatant of monsters, and "toil-laden hero," appears now burdened with care, and weary, now engaged in conflict, and now rejoicing in the full cup, in statues varying from those of cabinet-size, suitable for a table-ornament, to those of colossal proportions. The largest was a *Heracles* in bronze, originally at *Tarentum*, whence it was removed to the Capitol at Rome, by *Fabius Maximus*, in 233 B.C. In *Constantine's* time it was taken, with ten other statues, to *Constantinople*, and put up in the Hippodrome, the present *Atmeidan*; but in 1202 it was melted down by the Crusaders for its metal.¹⁰¹⁸ The size of this figure was so great, that the thumb could scarce be spanned by a man's girdle, and the length of the shin-bone equalled the height of a man. In it the hero appeared, wearied after his tremendous labors in cleaning in a single day the stables of *Augeias*, where, it was fabled, were lambs, sheep, and cattle, countless as the clouds of the sky. According to the descriptions of Lysippos' colossus by a Byzantine writer, the hero, without quiver, bow, or club, appeared seated on the symbol of his purification of the stables, a basket over which was spread his lion's-skin. His attitude was that of repose after exhausting labor. The right leg and arm were easily extended, and the left leg was drawn up; while on the open hand, supported by his knee, the weary hero rested his head, pondering sadly over the many trials still to be overcome. His chest and shoulders, we are told, were massive and broad, the hair thick but short, the arms powerful, and the rump full. We have seen the hero in the metopes of *Olympia*, likewise leaning his face on his hand, pondering over his trying mission, but in a standing posture and with his foot on the conquered lion, ready at any moment to continue his labors. Lysippos seems to have brought the hero one stage farther, showing more complete exhaustion, and, perhaps, a shade of discouragement in the lack of what might indicate further action. Possibly this new type may be echoed in the famous

Belvedere torso of the Vatican, Michel Angelo's favorite antique; a work so sadly mutilated, however, that opinions vary widely as to its original pose, and general artistic character. On many ancient gems, the reposing hero is to be seen; but they all vary in detail from the descriptions of Lysippos' statue, and we can only hope that excavations at Tarentum may some day throw light on this old colossus.¹⁰¹⁹ Of a second Heracles by Lysippos, we have only Pausanias' bare mention that he saw it on the market-place at Sikyon.¹⁰²⁰ A third statue, according to several epigrams, represented the hero as robbed of his weapons by Eros; and the gems on which the reposing hero appears with the god Eros seated on his shoulder, and the club by his side, may offer variations, at least, on this theme.¹⁰²¹ Still a fourth representation of Heracles by Lysippos, although scarcely a foot in height, enjoyed great celebrity on account of its grand outlines. This bronze statuette, called Heracles Epitrapezios, or table-ornament, represented the jovial hero, seated on a rock, covered with his lion's-skin. With the right hand he held high a goblet, and in the left his club, while his gaze was directed upwards; forming, it would seem, a suitable decoration for the centre of a festive board. Alexander, it is said, was so fond of this bronze, that he carried it about with him on his campaigns. It came afterwards into the possession of Hannibal, and then of Sulla, and was finally owned by a rich Roman, Nonius Vindex, when seen by poets who sang its praises.¹⁰²² Besides these single figures of Heracles, Lysippos represented him (whether in reliefs or statues, is uncertain) as engaged in his struggles. From Alyzia, a retired town in Acarnania, on the west coast of Greece, according to Strabo, a Roman general removed them to Rome, that they might be seen.¹⁰²³ It seems probable that Lysippos developed the massive corporeal type of Heracles as a powerfully muscular, bearded man in full years, in distinction from the earlier representations, on Attic friezes and in Olympia, as more youthful and lithe; and this physically more powerful type of Heracles seems to have held its own in art, down through later times.

Portraiture was also a strong point with this great Sikyon master. One class of portraits represented men of the past, according to their characteristics, as traced in their history and literary productions. The second class of portraits represented living people. To the former must have belonged Lysippos' representation of Æsop, the fable-poet of centuries long before the master's day, and the ideals of the Seven Wise Men, which he is said to have incorporated in bronze.¹⁰²⁴ An ancient poet grows enthusiastic over this portrait of Æsop, who was conceived by the Greeks as an unfortunate cripple from birth, but, like the famous Pasquino, the Roman tailor, and others thus afflicted, as gifted with sharp wit making up, as it were, for the bodily defect. That Lysippos thus represented Æsop, we do not know; but the deformed marble Æsop of the Villa Albani, with a suffering but genial face resting on

the unsightly shoulders, is of such masterly conception, excellent workmanship, and realistic rendering, that we would fain believe it to be in the spirit of Lysippos' celebrated bronze.¹⁰²⁵ Socrates he perhaps represented in bronze for the Athenians; and his own countrywoman the poetess Praxilla, who lived in the early part of the fifth century B.C.¹⁰²⁶

But his portraits of Alexander, whom he represented in all ages from boyhood upwards, have won for him the fame of being chief among the portrait-artists of antiquity.¹⁰²⁷ According to the ancients, the great Alexander had a skin of dazzling white, and cheeks of roseate hue; but, on account of a natural deformity, carried his head inclined to the left, a defect which was increased by a wound received in Illyria. His eyes were small, but soft and liquid in their expression, having a fire akin to that conceived to light up the face of Dionysos, or to beam from Aphrodite's countenance; and his hair rose boldly from his forehead. Lysippos alone, of the ancient masters, is said to have so blended these peculiarities into a whole, that, while every characteristic feature was preserved, he still gave the king a lion-like and virile appearance. It was reported by Roman authors, that Alexander allowed himself to be represented in painting by Apelles alone, in gems by Pyrgoteles, and it is even affirmed that he issued an edict to the effect that none but Lysippos should represent him in statuary; a statement which, however, cannot be correct, since it is known that Euphranor, Leochares, and others made statues of the monarch. The general impression, that only one man was permitted to make Alexander's portrait, doubtless originated in the resemblance of the numerous representations of the monarch in later days, and the constant desire to associate works of art of doubtful origin with some familiar name. This general familiarity with the monarch's appearance was, moreover, increased by the Roman emperors, many of whom, as Caracalla, sought to imitate him, and encouraged his worship by setting up his busts. Alexander Severus was so devoted to Alexander's cult, that he had a statue of him put up in a private chapel connected with the imperial residence. Alexander's head was also found on Roman seal-rings, and women used it for adorning their persons. Lysippos is known to have represented Alexander once as looking up, and carrying a spear, the suitable attribute of a conqueror. Upon the pedestal of this statue a poet is said to have written, —

"What power, Lysippos, hath thy bronze!
The conqueror's daring mien,
And Alexander's glorious self,
Embodied here are seen.
The living metal seems to say,
With eyes uplift to Jove, —
'Mine are the realms of earth below,
Thine, the realms above.' " ¹⁰²⁸

Again, Lysippos represented the great conqueror as one of an extensive group executed in honor of bloody Granicos, Alexander's first battle in Asia. In this work Alexander appeared with twenty-five mounted and nine foot soldiers, who fell about him at the first onslaught. This group formed one of the attractions of Dion in Macedonia, Alexander's capital, and was removed to Rome by Metellus, the conqueror of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and at last adorned the Portico of Octavia.¹⁰²⁹ That these numerous riders and foot-soldiers could not all have been exact portraits, as reported by Pliny, is evident from the fact, that, with the exception of Alexander, the warriors portrayed all fell at Granicos, and were buried there. Still another group in which Alexander appeared was the hunting-scene, described above (p. 460), in which Lysippos was assisted by Leochares. While portraits of Alexander in bronze and marble are not infrequent, — a fact which may be understood readily from their importance in Roman times, — it is difficult to trace in them reflections of the greatness of Lysippos' power in portraiture. As the foundation on which our knowledge of Alexander's face is based, must be considered that marble bust, now in the Louvre, discovered near Tivoli in 1779, by Azara, bearing Alexander's name, and presented to Napoleon Bonaparte by the finder. Here, although the surface has been sadly injured, still we see the lion-like hair rising from the forehead, the small, voluptuous eyes, as well as the defects of Alexander's neck seen in the greater fulness on the left side. But more of the grandeur of Alexander's face seems preserved to us in another marble head, now in the British Museum, and originally from Alexandria (Fig. 218). The head is tipped slightly to one side, giving it, however, a bold and daring look, which is increased by the manner in which the hair is thrown up from the forehead and falls about the neck. The form of the upper eyelids and the sweep of the eyebrows are such as to give the eyes an almost sensual expression, which is increased by the mouth, in which the tongue is just visible between the teeth. That grand, shaggy-haired head of the Capitol at Rome, long called Alexander, has so remote a resemblance to these heads, that it is difficult to believe it to be even an idealized portrait. Another and similarly formed head of the Uffizi, but with an expression of pain, and called the Dying Alexander, is evidently but a



Fig. 218. Portrait Head of Alexander the Great. British Museum.

variation on one of the youthful giants of the Pergamon frieze, and has no connection with the great Macedonian. Statues of the monarch are also thought to exist; among which, however, only the one in Munich may be traced with probability to a Lysippian original.¹⁰³⁰ In it the nude hero stands with the right leg raised on a rock, while he looks off commandingly into the distance; thus having a position which may perhaps be traced to Lysippos, as its originator in statuary. The statue was restored by Thorwaldsen, as though preparing to anoint his raised leg with oil; but it is more probable that Alexander should have appeared putting on his armor, an act which may find its explanation in his constant desire to emulate his great heroic ancestor Achilles, the turning-point in whose life was the donning the armor brought him by his mother Thetis.

Lysippos also represented Hephaistion, Alexander's most intimate friend; and from an inscribed pedestal, once in Rome, we learn that he also represented Seleukos, one of Alexander's generals, after he had become king.¹⁰³¹ Among his other works, and following the tradition of the Sikyon school, were five statues of victors in the Olympic games, the inscription of one of which has been discovered at Olympia.¹⁰³² A statue by Lysippos, of an athlete scraping his body with the strigil, became very famous in after-centuries, and is known as the *Apoxyomenos*.¹⁰³³ The athletes, before the active exercise of the games, anointed their bodies with oil, both to protect themselves from cold, and to limber their skin. In addition, they sometimes sprinkled their bodies with the finest sand. In the intense exertion of racing, wrestling, etc., the perspiration naturally flowed freely, catching the dust of the arena. To remove this, a curved scoop was used, called by the Greeks *stlengis*, and by the Romans *strigil*; and its employment, even without the bath, was looked upon as one of the main sources of bodily health and strength. The great weight laid upon these customs of the *palaestra* appears from the contributions made by the Sicilians to the Rhodians, after the latter had suffered from an earthquake, when they received seventy-five talents (\$88,350) to be spent in replenishing their gymnasiums with oil. The artistic forms given the strigils, many of which are preserved, show the labor spent even upon such humble accessories. The bronze *Apoxyomenos* by Lysippos—a young athlete occupied with removing the oil and sand from his body—was placed by Agrippa before his baths in Rome; but Tiberius, finding delight in the statue, removed it to his private apartments. The people, robbed of the sight of their favorite, so clamored for its restitution, when Tiberius appeared in the theatre, that the emperor was obliged to restore the statue to its place. In 1849 there was discovered in the Trastevere, at Rome, a marble copy of this lost bronze original; and it now forms one of the main attractions in the brilliant Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Fig. 219).¹⁰³⁴ The left hand alone was entirely missing. Owing to a misunderstanding of Pliny's statement, the restored hand, which should doubtless

have been left empty, has received a die. We see in this statue a very tall, slender figure, with a small head; and when compared with the works of earlier masters, the Doryphoros of Polycleitos, or the Parthenon figures, it furnishes an admirable illustration of the innovations introduced by Lysippos into the proportions of ancient sculpture. Comparing this figure in detail with the copy of the Doryphoros, in the Argos relief, engraved on p. 386, we find, that, while the head in the relief is only about one-sixth of the whole length of the figure, in the Apoxyomenos it is little less than one-eighth, and while in the relief the length of the body predominates over that of the limbs, here it is much shorter in proportion; giving the whole figure a more slender effect, but a less grand one, than that rendered by the older master. The ankles and wrists are also more slender than in the older figures, preventing the extremities from looking too heavy, as was said of those made by Euphranor. In archaic art a similar relationship between head and body, and body and legs, is often met with, as seen in the Æginetan sculptures; so that it seems as though Art, after having made her full circuit, returned with Lysippos to the proportions of her infancy. But, besides this change in proportions, the Apoxyomenos shows in its pose an elegance, and effective, restless grace, such as we might expect from the great Sikyon master, who is said to have shone by these qualities, which, however, in the marble, with its necessary supports, do not come as fully to expression as they must have done in the bronze. The surface, especially about neck and chest, in which the details are naturalistically given, and the rendering of the hair, not in masses, but in individual curling locks, confirm the statements of the ancients as to Lysippos' care in expressing hair, and in finishing details. The face follows the general scheme of Praxiteles' god of the athletes, Hermes; but, unlike that great work, soul-light does not glow in the

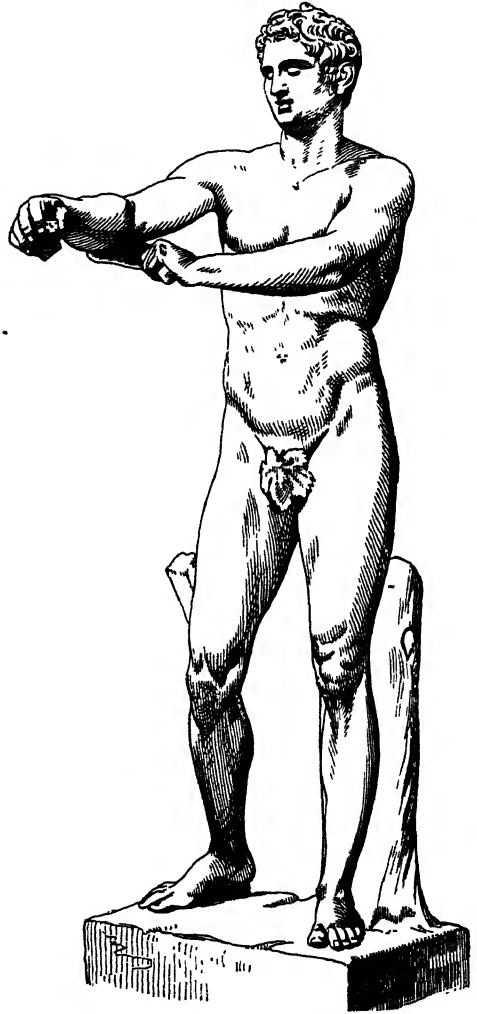


Fig. 219. *The Apoxyomenos after Lysippos. Vatican.*

countenance. In the muscular features, where restlessness lurks in every line, we seem to see rather an ideal of the athlete, verging very near to the actual naturalism of portraiture.

Animal life the Sikyon master is said to have represented with great success. Besides the lion and dogs of hunting-scenes, in which Alexander appeared as mentioned above, a dying lion is spoken of, which was removed from Lamp-sacos by Agrippa, as well as *quadrigæ* of different kinds, and an untamed horse of great lifelikeness, who pricked up his ears, and raised one hoof : this was destroyed by the Crusaders in Constantinople.¹⁰³⁵ An inscription with Lysippos' name has been discovered at Thebes, together with the name of Polycleitos the younger ; but, unfortunately, the work that accompanied it is not preserved.¹⁰³⁶ Consequently, all that we have from which to form an estimate of his artistic achievements and peculiarities are but copies of a later day, and the reports of the ancients. But even with these unsatisfactory *data*, it seems safe to infer, that, following the tendencies of the Argive-Sikyon school, his energies were devoted mainly to the creation of fine corporeal forms, and to the perfection of the physical frame, for the attainment of which bronze was the most suitable medium. But he could not remain where the masters, such as Polycleitos, of a sterner, older time, had stood ; and he introduced an element of greater elegance, and perhaps showiness, into his work, in keeping with the stream of his time. This latter influence, doubtless, led to his developing details, as he saw them in nature, much as Praxiteles did in the drapery of his Hermes. Granted that this conception of Lysippos be correct, he seems to be one of the direct sources whence flowed many of the streams traceable in the Hellenistic age, on the very threshold of which time he stood.

Since the activity of the most of Lysippos' scholars falls in the opening years of the following, or Hellenistic age, they will be considered under that period. One alone, Lysippos' own brother Lysistratos, may, however, here find his place alongside of his greater brother. Of his early life we know little. One statue alone by him, of Melanippe, is mentioned. The interest he awakens is due, however, to what Pliny says in a much-discussed passage, — that he took casts directly from the human form and face, with a view to attaining more perfect portraiture.¹⁰³⁷ Taking for his method a process so mechanical, even though, as it is said of him, he afterwards worked up the forms in wax, we cannot but feel that his method was contrary to the free spirit of ancient art. Hence some have tried to explain away the statement of Pliny, claiming that there is no evidence that the ancients used piece-moulds.¹⁰³⁸ But several objects recently added to the British Museum go to prove conclusively, that the ancient Greek sculptors were familiar with, and skilfully used, plaster-casting.¹⁰³⁹ These objects are the head and two arms of an Eros found in the region of Kyrene. But besides these fragments from the Kyrenaica, others have also been found in Athens itself in no small numbers, in and about the

ancient graveyard, outside the Dipylon.¹⁹⁴² Some of these are of most beautiful form, and are now to be seen in the museums of Athens. Among them was the left arm of a man, from elbow to wrist. In this, the bone was still left, around which the squeeze for the form of the arm was to be made. Doubtless other such relics would have been preserved, were it not for the perishable nature of plaster. These discoveries of objects, from the time following close on to the age of Lysistratos, go, moreover, to confirm Pliny's statement with regard to the methods in portraiture of this sculptor, but do not raise him any higher in our estimation as a genuine artist.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DIVERS SCULPTORS AND MONUMENTS FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE GREEK WORLD DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Prominence of Sparta.—Bœotia under Epaminondas.—Arcadia.—Messene.—Damophon.—Other Artists of this Age.—Lion of Chaironeia.—Sculptured Reliefs.—Tanagra Figurines.—Their Diversity.—Their Affinity with Other Works.—Art in Sicily.—Tarentum and Siris Bronzes.—Eros and Psyche in Berlin.—Art on the Islands and in Asia Minor.—Cnidian Remains.—Demeter.—Cnidian Lion.—Remains from Temple of Ephesos.—Subjects of Sculptured Columns.

TURNING from the dazzling glories of Attic and of Argive-Sikyon art, in this age of Praxiteles and of Lysippos, we may now seek to gather up the fragmentary rays which stray to us from other parts of the Greek world. At the close of the great civil war which humbled Athens, Sparta stood at the head of the Greek states. To her leader Lysander, the hero of Aigospotamoi (406 B.C.), divine honors were paid, the first instance in Greek history of such respect being shown to living mortals. To him were awarded golden wreaths and statues; to him altars were raised, offerings made, and hymns of praise were sung. In emulation of Athenian patronage of arts, two Victories were dedicated by Lysander, in commemoration of the battles of Ephesos and Aigospotamoi, besides three tripods in Amyclai, and the colossal group at Delphi already described (p. 394). But Sparta's narrow-mindedness and sectional spirit seem to have shown themselves even here, Peloponnesian and insular masters being employed to the exclusion of the Athenians. The few existing marbles which may be ascribed to this age show no development in that peculiar art which had flourished in Laconia, but rather that it had lost its vitality; these later monuments lacking altogether in local coloring.^{1040a} An aggressive, arrogant policy towards the other states and the foreign powers caused Sparta's rapid decline from her leadership. The young Theban power in Bœotia was now roused against her; and under the guidance of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Arcadian confederacy was consolidated, and its new capital, Megalopolis, laid out in 370 B.C. Temples were built, and furnished with statues; theatres and bridges were put up; and a colossal ring, fifty *stadia* in length, enclosed this new city, which could thus be appropriately called "the great city." The ruins still testify to the skill and taste of the builders. Mantinea was also now rebuilt, and its temples filled with new statues; the shrine of

Athena at Tegea was renewed with great outlay, and a costly votive offering of many bronze figures sent to Delphi. But it is noteworthy, that, in all this artistic activity in Arcadia, artists of the Attic school, Kephisodotos, Praxiteles, Scopas, and others, as we have seen, were employed, besides many sculptors of less fame of the Argos-Sikyon school. Of native talent, but one master alone is mentioned, Samolas by name, engaged with Argos masters in executing for Tegea the bronze votive offering of nine figures for Delphi (p. 397).

But, besides Arcadia, its neighboring state Messene also enjoyed great political prosperity at this time, offering sculptors many opportunities for exercising their powers. Its brave and warlike people, in order to escape servitude to Sparta, had been obliged to leave their homes, and find refuge in Sicily, Italy, and Africa; but recalled by Epaminondas, and protected by Thebes, they returned to their homes and sacred places. In 369 B.C. their capital Messene sprang into existence as if by magic. Other cities — Pylos, Eira, Methone — were rebuilt; and their ruined battlements still exist to tell the story of this activity. We learn that the sculptures of one Damophon abounded in the shrines of his native town Messene, and in the neighboring Megalopolis. His activity must, consequently, have fallen soon after the building of these cities. In Messene were several works ascribed to this master, — a remarkable figure of the mother of the gods; an Artemis Laphria represented as huntress; an Asclepios with his children; an Apollo; the Muses; a Heracles; an Artemis Phosphoros; a Tyche; and a figure of Thebes, doubtless put up in commemoration of the help received from that city.¹⁰⁴¹ All these were in marble, — a material, as we have seen, not used by the great Argive-Sikyon sculptors. Megalopolis also teemed with the works of Damophon, who alone of the Messenians, according to Pausanias, made worthily the statues of the gods, among which were Core, Asclepios, Hygieia, Hermes, Aphrodite, and many others.¹⁰⁴² Of these, some were in marble, and others were acroliths, in which the main part was of wood, but the extremities of stone. The same was true of Damophon's statues of Eilytheia in Aigion, on the Gulf of Corinth, executed, it is presumed, while he and his countrymen were in exile there.¹⁰⁴³ Not a single work in bronze, the favorite material of Argos-Sikyon masters, is mentioned as by him; but that he was skilful in the use of gold and ivory appears from his having repaired Pheidias' Olympic Zeus to the perfect satisfaction of the people of Elis, who, in consequence, heaped honors upon him.¹⁰⁴⁴ His frequent creation of acrolithic statues, in which the gilded wood and white marble were doubtless intended to take the place of the gold and ivory of expensive chryselephantine statues, seems, moreover, to indicate, that, as far as was in his power, he kept up the traditional method of representing the gods, to which these imitations must have come nearer than the bronze figures of Argos and of Sikyon, or those in marble of contemporary Attica.¹⁰⁴⁵ Damophon's reli-

gious and ideal tendency, as evident in these frequent representations of the gods, seems, moreover, to show a bent quite foreign to that of Lysippos, but akin to that of Attic sculptors. The fact that at Megalopolis he must have worked with the Attic masters, and that the Messenians always regarded Athens as their ally, suggests a direct relationship between this master and the contemporary Athenian school.

In Megara, Apellas, Theocosmos' grandson, now meets us. He executed praying women, and statues of philosophers.¹⁰⁴⁶ In Olympia, Pausanias saw a *quadriga*, a charioteer, and a figure of Kynisca, by this master. Kynisca, a Spartan queen, was the first woman allowed to send horses to the Olympic races.¹⁰⁴⁷ The inscribed pedestal of this group, as recently discovered, shows that the *quadriga* was of diminutive size; and it has been conjectured that Kynisca appeared praying for victory, and was, therefore, one of the praying women mentioned by Pliny.¹⁰⁴⁸

In Thebes, during her short period of prosperity under Epaminondas, the arts were liberally encouraged. This great man held before the Thebans the maxim, that, to be the first in Hellas, they must put the Propylaia of the Athenian Acropolis at the ascent to their sacred Cadmeia; thus indicating the importance he attached to monumental works. Sculptors from Attica and from the Peloponnesos were called to adorn temples, and to erect statues to victors. Both Praxiteles and Scopas, as we have seen, were there employed; and Lysippos also left his name at Thebes. But the names of a few Theban sculptors have also been found there, as well as appearing in ancient records.¹⁰⁴⁹ Most prominent among these are Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton, co-workers, and perhaps brothers. Their most extensive works seem to have been two large bronze groups, executed for Argos, and consecrated at Delphi in honor of victory over the Spartans, doubtless in the Corinthian war 393-387 B.C.¹⁰⁵⁰ One group represented a scene from the campaign of the seven mythic heroes against Thebes, and the other the deeds of their sons, — subjects which are familiar to us from the tomb at Gjölbaschi.

From such scanty records concerning sculptures in Boeotia, we turn gladly to its monuments, which within a few years have been collected in part into the growing museums at Thebes, Tanagra, Thespiai, and ancient Chaironeia. The museum at Thebes already numbers two hundred pieces; and the other collections, though smaller, contain many important works. The few belonging to the developing stages of art have been mentioned under archaic monuments. The larger part belong to a developed stage, and many even to the declining days of Roman dominion. The sculptures which peopled the temples have nearly all disappeared; and the most part of what are preserved are tributes erected by mourning families, or the state, to their dead.¹⁰⁵¹ Taking the lead, is that national monument which marks the great historical crisis when the liberties of Greece were crushed in the battle of Chaironeia, Aug. 7, 338 B.C.

On the Boeotian plain, spread out at the foot of Mount Parnassos, thirty thousand Macedonians, led by Philip and by his son Alexander, then only eighteen years of age, met and annihilated the combined forces of Thebes and of Athens. So terrible was the conflict, and so bloody the hand-to-hand fight, that the river which winds through the plain received the name of Haimon, the stream of blood. When the battle seemed hopeless, three hundred Theban youth, the "sacred band," threw themselves into the conflict, but in vain; the whole number falling before the enemy. Over their common grave, a grateful people raised a colossal monument,—a lion of gray Boeotian marble. Into this grave we are privileged reverently to gaze, since, twenty-one hundred years after the battle, it has been opened, and the brave youths have been found, as they were piously laid away, side by side, their remains still showing the marks of the hopeless struggle.¹⁰⁵² Cruel lance-points still pierce both thighs of one; another has his chin fearfully crushed; and a third, his skull. This solemn tomb is again to be closed, and the brave dead left to rest in peace. Above them the Greeks propose to raise again the monument, placing upon it the lion, which, with its pedestal, will once more tower up thirty-nine feet against the blue sky of Greece, as Pausanias saw it centuries ago. He noticed the lion, and explained its presence as referring to the courage of the fallen; but the inscription, he says, is lacking, adding, "Because, as I believe, fate has not crowned their bravery with the reward it deserves."¹⁰⁵³ The lion, the monument erected to these brave men, has also suffered. Later generations, thinking treasure might be concealed within, laid a mine, and blew its colossal form into many fragments. Modern travellers have often passed by the spot where these were half hidden in the earth; and Professor Mahaffy tells us that he found wild bees at work in the mouth of the upturned head, the honeycomb clinging to the teeth.¹⁰⁵⁴ These scattered fragments, with the exception of one paw, have, however, been recovered; but it will be no slight matter to bring them into their places again. The paws, recently found, measure more than three feet in length; and the weight of the head is estimated at not less than four and a half tons. The back of the lion was left quite rough, but great care was lavished upon the neck and belly, doubtless because these parts were most exposed to view. The head, of which there is a cast in the British Museum, is thoroughly natural (Fig. 220). The jaws do not widely yawn, but between the slightly opened lips the teeth show; and the eyes seem fiercely directed upon some hated object. The pupils are indicated by deep round cavities in the eye, over which swell powerful muscles. The idea embodied in this majestic beast seems to be that of a lion who, rising, growls at the enemy in low but ominous tones. Its artistic style and execution have nothing local, but strongly resemble Attic works; the nearest parallel being a life-size steer, still adorning the tomb of one Dionysios, in the Kerameikos in Athens.¹⁰⁵⁵ In its general scheme, this Chaironeian lion is the same as that

archaic lion, now before the Arsenal at Venice, and originally from the Attic battle-field of Marathon. Of the few reliefs found in Boeotia, and doubtless also belonging to this century, the majority show a striking similarity to Attic tombstones in charm of subject and in execution.^{1055a}

But our picture of Boeotian art would be incomplete without noticing those modestly beautiful figurines in clay with which the graves at Tanagra and elsewhere were peopled. This custom was in vogue throughout most parts of



Fig. 220. Head of the Lion from the Tomb of the Theban Warriors who fell at Chalroneia.

the ancient Greek world ; and such figures are sometimes found in temples, as well as in tombs.^{1055b} But, while discovered on so many ancient Greek sites, those from Boeotia and from Attica still continue to assert their artistic superiority. In Boeotia, near the high-roads over which for ages passed commerce and armies from Athens in the south, to Chalkis in the north-east and to Thebes in the north-west, were situated the tombs, but principally along the greater road leading to Chalkis. In these were found the terra-cottas ; the greater part coming from Tanagra (modern Grimadha), although they have been found as well at Thebes, Thespiai, and other places. Unfortunately an

ignorant and greedy peasantry have dug here for the most part, and the restorer has clandestinely patched together whatever has been found, so that it is impossible to tell what method was originally observed in distributing these beautiful companions of the dead, and whether they were used by poor as well as by rich. Extensive excavations, however, by the French, at Myrina in Asia Minor, show that, there at least, these statuettes were frequently thrown into the grave, and often even broken beforehand, as is evident from their exceedingly fragmentary condition, and the fact that the heads and bodies of the same statuettes were sometimes found at opposite ends of the grave. A custom seems here indicated, similar to that prevailing in modern Greece, of breaking a vase upon the tomb after burial.¹⁰⁵⁶ The rapid multiplication of these statuettes, which are often found in great numbers in a single grave, was facilitated by the use of piece-moulds, one for the front and one for the back of the body; such having been found on many sites. The two clay impressions thus formed were united at the edges into a complete shape; the clay while still moist being retouched, in the better figurines, by the thumb, or modeller's tool. The heads were, on the other hand, a free creation, and very varied, even on figures from the same mould. Of four beautiful figurines in the Sabouroff collection, the heads and the objects held are so varied, that only careful attention brings the fact to notice, that in design, drapery, and size, the bodies are exactly alike. The same is true of thirteen others of another type, some of which are in the Louvre. Where the heads are preserved, the sutures connecting them with the body are almost always skilfully hidden, seldom having the awkwardness observable about figurines patched up in modern times. A hole was left in some part of the figure, usually the back, for the escape of air during the firing; and the majority of the statuettes were applied to a square clay plinth before being put into the furnace.

The veil which has so long hung over polychromy in Greek art is here at last partially lifted, showing the perfect harmony in which color and statuesque form could be united. The color is never painted directly on the dark clay; but when complete with all its accessories, the figure received a thin coating of white, or pipe-clay, upon which were applied the rosy, azure, or golden hues which in some cases still delight the eye. One standing figure of the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XI.) carries a golden fan, and wears a broad hat richly hued. The delicate blue garments are encircled by broad golden borders, unfortunately but faintly given in the phototype. If we look into the blue eyes, and if we catch the gentle, modest expression of the red-lipped mouth, we are quite satisfied that the Greeks had precious secrets at their command with regard to the gradation of colors as applied to plastic forms. It was not always, however, that they had produced such subtle and delicate combinations; as a glance from these exquisitely blended hues back to the staring harsh colors of archaic figurines will readily prove. In these advanced

statuettes, nearly all the bright colors in simple and clear tones appear ; but ethereal sky-blue and tender rose-tint seem the favorites, while a combination of white and gold is sometimes met with. The hair is, without exception, a reddish brown ; suggesting the possibility, that anciently the hair was dyed with *Khenna*, still used universally in the Orient. The eyes are a delicate blue, the lips red, skin a soft and mellow but not naturalistic flesh-tone, the wreaths green, and rocks a grayish blue. These colors have too often faded altogether, or — what is much worse — have been very considerably retouched. The collection of M. Sabouroff in Berlin contains many untouched specimens of most varied types, offering a fine school for the study of color as used by the ancients.¹⁰⁵⁷

The purport of these companions of the dead is not in all cases easily divined. A few are furnished with the familiar symbols of well-known figures of the gods. Thus, do we see a fleet huntress with her hound, it is probably Artemis ; do we meet the merry satyr face and form, there can be no doubt that we are following the artist into the realm of mythology ; and where winged boys float with inexpressible grace, or hide in the arms of a beautiful woman, there can be no doubt that Eros, fabled to make lovely women more lovable, is intended. But a larger class of youths, maidens, and richly draped women, who appear seated, standing, and reclining (Selections, Plate XI.), are often found with no attribute ; or these are confused, — for instance, a vigorous youth carries the tragic mask, Melpomene's attribute, or the apple, Aphrodite's symbol. In the Sabouroff collection, one has his bronze spear, and a maiden carries in her arms a vase of perfumes (*lekythos*) like many found in graves, thus, evidently, representing a friend bringing offerings to the deceased. The artist's mind, in designing many of these beautiful figures, seems, then, to have been filled with scenes from daily life. He shows us, in the figure of the Berlin Museum represented in the centre of Selections, Plate XI., a lady, as she would appear walking closely wrapped in well-held garments, and wearing on her head the light, pointed, and broad-brimmed hat ; calling to mind, in her appearance, the enthusiasm of Dicaearchos, a scholar of Aristotle and traveller in Bœotia, who considered the Theban ladies, by reason of their elegant carriage, queenly stature, and beautiful person, to be the most perfect among the women of Greece. "They cover their heads," as he adds, "with a white veil, showing only the eyes ;" a mode of dress which finds an exact reflection in many figurines. But the coroplasts (moulders of puppets) also show us these ladies of old adorning themselves, doubtless in the privacy of the house, as seen in two figures in the British Museum, or as dreamily reclining, or playing with a pet dove alighted on the shoulder, as seen in the beautiful figures of the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XI.).

We might expect, that such humble and diminutive works of art would, necessarily, owe their effect to a certain coquettishness and piquancy of pose

and subject, as is the case with modern porcelain art, so much of which never rises above the level of mere attractiveness. But these ancient terra-cottas of such humble size, fascinating us by their charms, and ennobling the paltry material of which they are composed, seem to belong to the very same family as the ancient statuary itself, and hint to us, how great our loss in the disappearance of the large and perfect statues of which these figurines are doubtless the graceful reflection, as the vase-pictures are of the greater paintings of this wonderful century. Among the marbles of Græco-Roman times, — such as the seated ladies, absorbed in thought, and others restored as Muses, — are many which vividly call to mind motives ever recurring in these Tanagra terra-cottas, and only changed to suit the new taste and circumstances.¹⁰³⁸ An exhaustive treatment of this branch of art would take in, besides, a world of homely actual scenes, in which caricature also plays an important part.

Could careful observers have stood by to note the exact build of the different tombs from which these little figures were taken, what a boon it would have been to the archæologist! Their exact age could then have been established, independently of conjectures founded on characteristics of style. The only light from ancient writers is a remark by Dicæarchos, to the effect that beautiful and peculiar decoration adorned the house-doors of Tanagra, and that the people put up gayly colored offerings of burnt clay. Even in Pausanias' late day, the inhabitants of Aulis, on the high-road to Tanagra, were all potters by trade. A comparison, however, with similar figures coming from Megara, and accompanied by an inscription of about the time of Alexander, places also the Tanagra figurines of the better sort in the second half of the fourth century, when in literature and the higher arts the majestic dignity of the past had yielded to the spirit of the new age. In these statuettes we seem, then, to have an intimation of the delicious grace and truly human ideality which characterized that time, permeating even the humblest walks of art-life. So akin are these figurines to objects found in Attica, that it would seem as though Bœotian potters, living along the high-road connecting their land with Athens, must have felt the moulding influence of the great streams of Attic art, which, by the end of the fourth century, permeated the ancient world even to the remote Crimea and Italy.

In Sicily, at the court of Dionysios of Syracuse, art was highly regarded; and coins teach us the graceful forms it there assumed. But of sculptured temple-monuments of the fourth century, like those from the temples of the preceding century, there are no traces.

In the literary accounts of art encouragement by the Greek cities in Southern Italy, Tarentum stands out prominently. But from this land only a few stray bronzes exist. Of these, two, now in the British Museum, although but seven inches in height, show a grandeur of style recalling the praise expended by the ancients on Lysippos' table-ornament, Heracles Epitrapezios. These

are the celebrated bronzes of Siris, one of which is represented on the right hand in Selections, Plate XII. They consist of two groups in high relief, which once served as ornaments to a piece of armor, and covered the buckles by which the breastplate and back-piece of a cuirass were united at the shoulder. These little bronzes were found in Southern Italy, within a small ruin, near the ancient Grumentum (Saponara), and the river Siris.¹⁰⁵⁹ The fact that they were discovered in the vicinity of the spot where, about 280 B.C., Pyrrhus, king of Epeiros, first gave battle to the Romans, nearly losing his life on account of the splendor of his armor, has led to the conjecture that these fragments were a part of the spoils of that engagement, and possibly the very armor of Pyrrhus himself. But their being found within a ruin seems to indicate rather that they came either from a tomb, or from a temple where they had made part of a votive offering. They were purchased by the British Museum for a thousand pounds, and have been greatly admired on account of the superiority of their workmanship, and their masterly composition, as well as the passion expressed in such small faces. The subject of both groups is the same,—that of a combat between a warrior and an Amazon. In the one represented in the plate, the female warrior has fallen on one knee, and her antagonist, a bearded and helmeted hero, has caught her by the hair,—a group calling to mind some figures in the frieze of the Mausoleum. Although the action is the same in these two Siris reliefs, there is no monotonous repetition. The surface is modelled with great refinement, as well as breadth. In Thorwaldsen's judgment, "these bronzes afforded the strongest possible proof that, in art, majesty is not dependent upon mere mass; since," as he says, "these diminutive works are truly great, while many modern colossal figures are, notwithstanding their size, petty and mean." This bronze possesses an additional charm in the pleading, sorrowful expression of the fallen Amazon, as well as in the stern, unrelenting face of the warrior, in whose overhanging brows vengeance seems to brood. The passionateness expressed, as well as the grouping, suggest to the mind the school of Scopas, and doubtless give, as the approximate date of these rare bronzes, the second half of the fourth century. A close examination of the workmanship heightens still more our admiration of these ornaments. The bronze is not cast, but hammered out, like modern *repoussé* work, to an unrivalled thinness, and with great surety. The parts less convex are generally more massive, being more furnished with metal, than those which have a greater projection. Where the relief is very strong, as in the heads, the plate is reduced to the thinness of paper; and, on the reverse, we observe cavities nearly an inch deep. Remembering the difficulties attending this process, the accuracy of blow and knowledge of form required to bring out the exquisite anatomical details here seen, we cannot enough admire the artist's skill; while, if we consider that it was bestowed, not upon a statue, but upon armor, we realize how deeply the spirit of true art had permeated every handicraft.

Equally grand in its design, but having more slender proportions, is that other bronze of the British Museum, found, it is said, at Tarentum, and representing a half-seated youth (Selections, Plate XII., left hand). Like the Siris bronzes, it is decorative, and, as the holes in it indicate, was attached to a mirror-cover, like those recently discovered at Corinth, and now in the British Museum. A finely developed youth, of athletic frame, appears half seated, half leaning against the background, which is, unfortunately, lost. He was probably grouped with another figure, which is now gone. Grand simplicity marks the fall of the drapery, and all its minor beauties cannot fail to attract us; but the eye is fascinated by the noble form and beautiful head. There is here a near kinship to the features of Praxiteles' Hermes, but a greater slenderness of body, and a less massive build of face. It is not, like the Siris bronzes, *repoussé*, but a casting. The surface is unusually well preserved for bronze, mirroring with force and beauty the play of the muscles beneath. Obscurity hangs over the exact site of discovery, but its date may be safely fixed as the second half of the fourth century B.C.

In connection with these rare bronzes should be noticed one other acquired in 1883 by the Berlin Museum, and of uncertain provenience, but purporting to come from Epeiros in Greece, and representing Eros and Psyche (Selections, Plate XII., central figure). This beautifully finished bronze is executed in the technique of the Siris bronzes, being hammered out, and once formed the decoration of a humble mirror-cover. It is the oldest existing representation of a scene which later came to be a very favorite one for funeral monuments. Here Eros, as a beautiful winged lad, stands by the side of Psyche, who is wrapped fully in graceful garments, and has her arm over his shoulder. His affection is gently expressed by his hand under her chin as though to turn her head for a kiss, which in later art is always actually represented, as seen in groups like the one in the Capitol at Rome. In this bronze there is such pleasing suggestiveness and exquisite grouping, as well as moderation in rendering, that there can be little doubt that this rare work dates from the latter half of the fourth century B.C., being another witness to the delicate modes of expression then prevalent, and to the subtle beauty of the artistic thoughts of that age.

The figure of a wounded Philoctetes, forming the decoration of a helmet, and said to have been found in Greece, and now in the Berlin Museum, is very akin in form, build, and expression, to the Siris bronzes, and doubtless dates from the same age, and, perhaps, workshop. In it the pain of the wounded hero is powerfully expressed in the small figure pressing the aching head with the hand; but still much is left to be imagined, there being in the face no expression of intense suffering. Other exquisite bronzes found in Etruria are, doubtless, also Greek work of the fourth century: instance the Hypnos found in Perugia, and many smaller works.

To the islands and Asia Minor we may now turn to fill out our knowledge

of the monuments of this great creative century, when numerous ideals were being developed for later times to draw upon. On the island of Andros, a statue thought to represent Hermes, with a female figure thoroughly draped, was discovered among the tombs, and shows the signs of the art of this time.¹⁰⁶⁰ The female figure is draped like the statue commonly called the Muse Polyhymnia; and having been found in various countries, such as Kyrene, Delos, and Italy, it seems probable that it was rather a favorite figure for the decoration of graves, representing the dead herself as deified, or perhaps simply as a mortal, and accompanied, as in this case, by Hermes, the leader of souls.

On the island of Melos, a colossal marble head was discovered in 1828, which, judging from its style and spirit, belongs to the great century when Scopas and Praxiteles were in their prime (Selections, Plate XIII.). Inscriptions found with this beautiful head, which is now in the British Museum, show that the place of its discovery, a grotto, was sacred to Asclepios, god of healing, and that it was dedicated by a Roman of about the first century B.C. These facts led to the belief that it represents Asclepios: others have, however, pronounced it to be Zeus himself.¹⁰⁶¹ If it be Asclepios, it approaches the older ideals of that god, whose resemblance to the Zeus heads we see on comparing Zeus on coins, with the earliest extant Asclepios reliefs, found within a few years in the ruins of his temple at Athens. The discovery in a Roman shrine, among many inferior works, of this colossal head, from the best time of Greek art, may be due to a custom, most frequent in Roman times, of removing older statues from their original site, and consecrating them in new shrines.

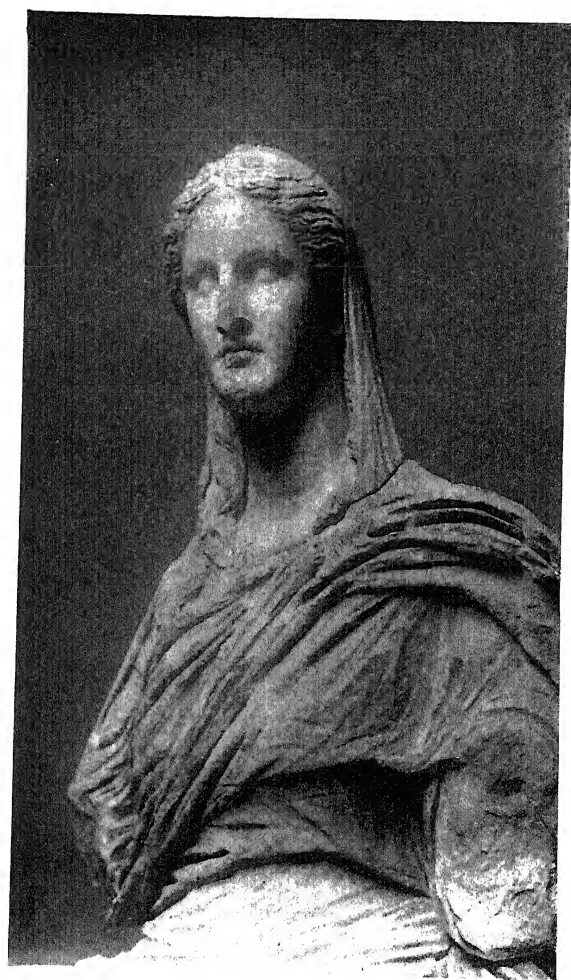
Let us, with the aid of the phototype, study this noble head in Parian marble more closely. Its generous forms, covered with lightly curling locks, and once crowned with a wreath of metal, are strongly contrasted to the stunted skulls of most Roman Jupiters, and are possessed of an infinite beauty, although the force of many of the shadows is lost in the present false mounting, which makes the head look upward in an attitude of devotion, unsuitable to him who was the hearer, and not the offerer, of prayer. Mark the forehead, significant of wisdom and power. In its centre, is an elevation from which the curling locks grow gently upward; below, its lines blend in exquisite harmony with those of the nose and eyebrows; at the sides, they pass gently into the prominent temples, there being here only a slight depression, — a feature which contrasts most favorably with the exaggerated Otricoli forehead (Fig. 143). The subtle, elastic lines of the eyebrows, without any indications of hairs, sweep off on either side, at a graceful angle, to the nose, and, disappearing in the temples, seem capable at any moment of contracting, and of casting over the eyes a look of lowering anger. There is no narrow and abrupt break at the bridge of the nose, as in faces of a baser cast; nor are

the muscles, directly over the eyebrows, like small hills, indicative of brute force, as in faces of simply physically powerful men. The features express spiritual power, combined with the highest self-control. The eyes, on which color is evident, have a mild expression, and lie, unlike those of the Parthenon heads, deeply embedded beneath the brow, — a peculiarity appearing in Attic sculpture in this century after Pheidias. The nose, which, by rare good fortune, is perfectly preserved, is of great beauty and strength, being of equal width from forehead to tip, where the finely shaped nostrils seem capable of instantaneous dilation. Around the full lips clusters the manly, curling beard, giving force to the lower part of the face. Benignity is one of the chief characteristics of this face; but the serene forehead and placid eyes are combined with such powerful brows, nose, and mouth, that were these brows contracted in anger, these nostrils distended and these lips moved by passion, we feel that the serenity would be transformed into dire wrath like that of the mighty Zeus.

Although no names of native sculptors of Asia Minor are preserved from this age, yet that there was activity there, is evident from the many existing monuments, and from the fact that during this period Attic sculptors of fame, — Scopas, Praxiteles, Leochares, and Bryaxis, — doubtless assisted by native talent, peopled the shrines and beautified the tombs. The Mausoleum, with its elaborate sculptural decoration, has already been described; but the less-famous marbles discovered by Professor Newton in the neighboring Cnidos, as well as others excavated by Mr. Wood in Ephesos, remain to be noticed.

The artistic spirit of Cnidos, known from the ancient writers, is richly borne witness to by the numerous temple ruins, and choice fragments of statuary, discovered by Professor Newton in 1858. The ruins had long served as a quarry for Greeks and Turks, for building-purposes; and, only twenty years before the modern excavations, whole ship-loads of marbles had been removed by Mehemet Ali, to build his new palace in Egypt.¹⁰⁶² The spot which yielded the largest number and choicest marbles was a sacred precinct (*Temenos*), within which had originally stood a small temple. These remains occupied a platform, from one side of which rises a sheer precipice, while the other overhangs the sea. In the face of this precipice were three niches cut for statues, which, however, no longer occupied them. On a base which had once borne a statue, was found recorded the dedication of a temple and a statue to Demeter and to Persephone, by Chrysina, wife of Hippocrates, in obedience to the god Hermes, who appeared to her in a dream, and declared that she should be priestess of these goddesses, at a place called Tathne, doubtless the very spot where the inscription was found. Other inscriptions showed, that, besides Demeter and Persephone, Hades, Hermes, the Dioscuri, and Hecate, — all deities of the nether world, — were here worshipped; but from the lack of all public dedications, and from the modest character of the ruins, Professor Newton adjudges this to have been a private shrine for the *cultus* of these gods, erected by Chrysina.

The character of her inscription, moreover, is such, that it clearly dates from about the middle of the fourth century, giving us a clew to the age of the sculptures found. On this site was discovered that draped seated Demeter of schistous marble, with her beautiful head of Parian marble, now occupying the small anteroom adjoining the Archaic Room of the British Museum, and seated still among the many votive offerings once dedicated to her, and to the other deities of the nether world, by the pious women of Cnidos (Plate IV.). The body is sadly injured, so that the effect of the enveloping drapery is well-nigh lost; and the back is left flat, a proof that the statue must have occupied a niche, doubtless some distance above the eye. The shortness of the waist, which, as the figure now stands, strikes every observer, is peculiar to many sculptures. It is not the mutilated form, however, but the head, which claims our reverent attention, so akin in spirit and workmanship to Praxiteles' Hermes, that we would fain associate it with the great master whose Aphrodite, we know, was the centre of attraction at Cnidos, the home of this Demeter. From the inscriptions alluded to above, together with the character of the head and dress, there can be no doubt that Demeter, the mourning mother in Greek myth, is represented in this figure, which, alas! has suffered so cruelly at the hand of time. But enough remains for us to be moved by the look of maternal tenderness in this face, dispelling any impression that Greek art was cold and passionless. There is an expression, also, of the sorrow of her who anxiously sought her lost daughter Core; so gently told, however, in the quiet, peaceful lines of the face, that we scarcely know where it lurks. A matronly veil, severely simple, intended for covering, not ornament, falls over her head and long curls: her age is that of one who has passed the bloom and freshness of early youth, but upon whose face, though sorrow has left its impress, years have not yet ploughed their furrows. The manner in which this sorrow is expressed is a fascinating study, as has been well pointed out by Brunn.¹⁰⁶³ It is a fact of daily observation, that, when deep and long-continued sorrow is felt, the eyes become sunken, the adipose tissues in which they are embedded diminishing in volume, especially at the outer corners. This we see in Demeter's face, to which, however, the sculptor has not given a haggard, painful look. Again, we notice, that in life, when the mind is anxious, the eye turns away, involuntarily, from near objects, and gazes forward and upward, as into an unseen and dreaded future; when the emotion is intense, or momentary, the eyebrows are strongly knitted, and the eyelids are convulsive in their lines. But Demeter's chastening sorrow has become a part of her being: she does not look directly forward, as does Zeus in his placid dignity, or gently downward, as does Hermes in pleasant thought; but her lower lid at the inner corner moves slightly upward over the raised eyeball, and her gaze is directed into the distance. The curve of her eyebrows, indicative of sorrow, is also so subtle as scarcely to be perceived; but just in front of her temples we notice that the skin of the otherwise calm,



high forehead is drawn up, forming a slight swelling, such as in nature ensues after long weeping. In life, moreover, it is no uncommon thing, when weeping is at hand, to see the mouth open and contract, the upper lip become pointed and raised, while the corners hang down. But how subdued these lines in Demeter's face! Her lips, slightly opened and drawn forward, sink at the corners, but so softly that at times it seems as though a smile of maternal love hovered about the mouth. Moreover, the mellow surface of this Madonna-like head is radiant with light and feeling, enhancing its benignity, and resembling the surface of Praxiteles' Hermes. If the Hermes presents incomparably the emotions of joy, this Demeter, in the same inimitable manner, reveals the softness and tenderness of grief.

In the glass case by the side of this maternal goddess of the British Museum, are many fragments of sculpture, found with her in the *Temenos* of Cnidos, the greater part showing the same mellowness and tenderness of style. They are principally hands and feet of female figures, some colossal, some life-size, and others very small, but all of beautiful workmanship and in Parian marble. One delicate foot swells with remarkable softness in its sandal, which still shows red color. The palm of a colossal hand, grown dark from exposure, and two smaller ones, still creamy-white and partly opened, have the same charm of surface seen also in the Hermes, the Demeter, and the beautiful Themis head found in Athens (p. 484). The main folds across these fragments are indicated by boldest strokes, a fine contrast to the cushion-like muscles over which they pass; there being throughout a tenderness and richness in the treatment of the marble, unlike the energetic and sharper lines of the Mausoleum or of the Tegea sculptures from Scopas' school, and alone to be compared with the extant sculptures from Praxiteles' hand. Although diligent search was made in the neighborhood of these fragments, no marble bodies were found; but whether this is due to the fact that the statues were acroliths, the bodies of wood and the extremities alone of marble, will probably always remain unknown.

Cnidos has yielded one other noble monument of sculpture to the British Museum. It is a colossal monolith in Pentelic marble, ten feet long by six feet high, the form of a lion in repose, its lower jaw and a part of its paws alone lacking. Like the lion of Chaironeia, and like so many others preserved to us from antiquity, it once surmounted a tomb, the ruins of which were found strewn about upon a lonely and bold headland jutting out into the sea.¹⁰⁶⁴ Here on the top of a high basement, surrounded by a Doric peristyle with engaged columns, once arose a pyramid of steps, supporting a pedestal on whose summit reclined the lion. The tomb is conjectured to have been for the Athenian warriors, who, under Conon, in 394 B.C., gained off Cnidos a great naval victory over the Lakedaimonians. The grandly severe style of the lion, as well as the fact that the marble is of one block, and not pieced as

was extensively done in works of the following century, go to establish the time of the erection of the monument as the earlier part of the fourth century. Raised high above the eye, on the edge of a precipice which falls abruptly into

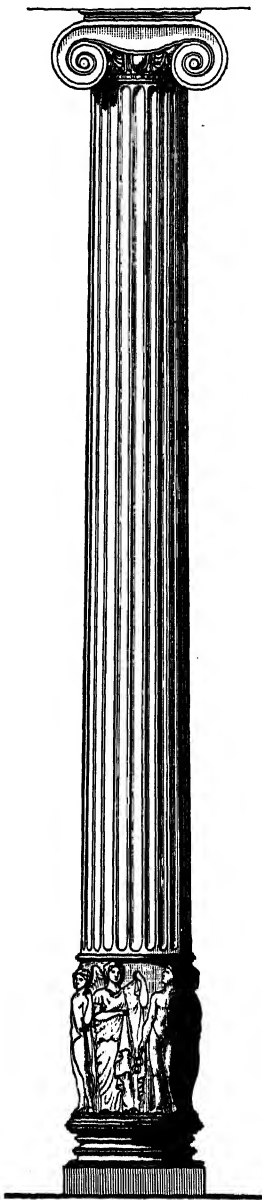


Fig. 221. Conjectural Restoration of one of the Columns of the Temple to Artemis, at Ephesos.

the sea, and commands a wide view of the surrounding archipelago, every harsh feature of the lion must have blended into grand harmony. His majestic repose, in contrast to the unquiet rising and muttering of the lion of Chaironeia, must have been a fit expression of the calm and conscious strength of victory.

The architectural sculptures, discovered within a few years by Mr. Wood at Ephesos, throw unexpected light upon the character of art in another part of Asia Minor during this century. The Ephesian temple of Artemis was famous from remote antiquity. To it Croesus had contributed, in the sixth century B.C., costly columns, which, as we have seen (p. 181), must have had their lower ends sculptured in relief, showing a luxury in decoration foreign to Greece itself, but most natural to the more voluptuous Oriental Ionians. The ancient temple was set on fire by one Herostratos, on the very night of Alexander's birth, July 21, 356 B.C. Its destruction, however, only roused the Ionians to renew their sacred shrine on so grand a scale, that, when built again, it was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, and was famed to be the largest temple of antiquity. Callimachos, in a burst of enthusiasm, exclaims, "Upon nothing more divine or more luxurious does the day-dawn break." Although Philip of Macedon, in commemoration of the birth-night of his son, made a liberal contribution, and the Ionians gave much towards the new structure, yet the weight of the undertaking fell upon the pious Ephesians themselves. Ladies contributed their gold ornaments, and individual citizens paid for the new columns. Of these, there were one hundred and twenty-seven, of which thirty-six were sculptured (*columnæ calatæ*), as Pliny describes them.¹⁰⁶⁵ The additional phrase, "*una a Scopas*," has been interpreted as signifying that the great sculptor Scopas made one of these columns; but the text is probably corrupted, and should read "*columnæ calatæ imo scapo*," or columns carved at the lower end. They seem, moreover, a continuation of the old style of decorating columns, as in Croesus' time, when

Oriental tastes must still have prevailed. Of these elaborate columns, which probably stood sixteen at each end of the temple, and one on each side behind the front row, six sculptured drums were discovered by Mr. Wood, and now adorn the British Museum.¹⁰⁶⁶ All around the body of each column were varied scenes in high relief, composed of figures of more than life-size, and once, doubtless, making up an *ensemble* about like the column represented in Fig. 221. On the best-preserved drum, five figures are in good condition, three of which may be seen at a time without changing the point of view (Fig. 222). The scene, as beautifully interpreted by Robert, relates to the myth of Adme-

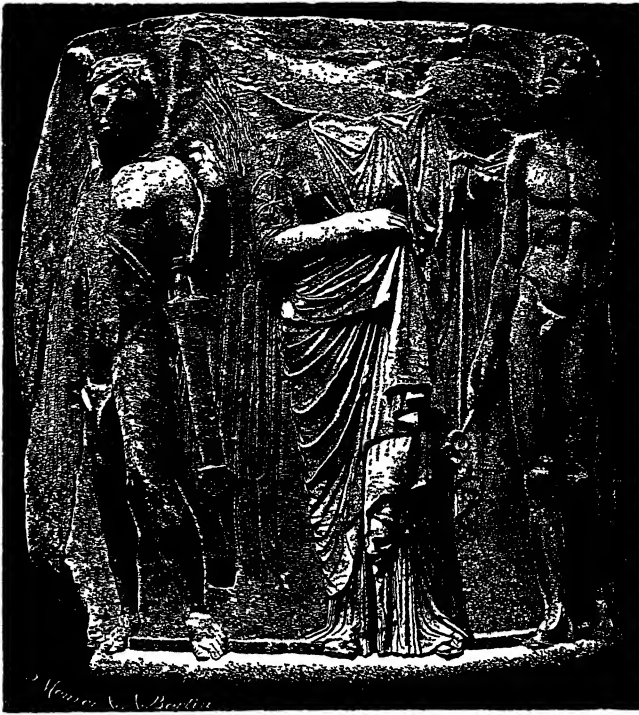


Fig. 222. Sculptured Drum of one of the Columns of the Temple to Artemis, at Ephesos. British Museum.

tos, who, on the celebration of his nuptials with the fair Alkestis, omitted to invite Artemis, and thus incurred the displeasure of this goddess.¹⁰⁶⁷ She then sent snakes to his bridal-chamber; but Apollo entreated his angered sister for his friend, and, besides, wrung from the Fates the promise, that, when Admetos came to die, his life should be spared, were any one found to accept death in his stead. When the hour came, Alkestis gladly offered herself for her loved husband. Thanatos (Death) now led her to the under-world; but Persephone, as one story has it, was overcome by this sight of self-sacrificing love, and took from Thanatos his prize, and sent her back to the smiling earth. Another story was, that Heracles, for his love to Admetos, robbed the dread Thanatos of

Alkestis after a severe struggle, and took her back to her husband. On the column the two myths seem combined. Hades (not seen in the cut) is enthroned as becomes the god supreme of the under-world; and by him stands Persephone (also not visible in the engraving), who seems to have bidden Hermes, leader of souls, conduct Alkestis back to the upper-world. We see Hermes looking up towards the world to which he is to lead back Alkestis, and bearing his lowered *kerykeion* in one hand, while the other, placed firmly on his hip, is hidden in his mantle, which has dropped from the shoulder, and is buttoned about his upper arm. His position is an easy, expectant one, the motion of his legs being such that he seems about to step forward. Next comes the beautifully draped Alkestis, whose head, alas! is gone; but the motion of one hand, and of the opposite arm, indicate that she is buttoning on her outer mantle, preparatory for the journey. While apparently looking back, the motion of her feet shows that she is about to move away with Hermes. Her beautiful drapery, with its careful surface-treatment, in which the wrinkles of nature are mirrored, without, however, detracting from its grand sweep, calls forcibly to mind the drapery of the so-called Artemisia of the Mausoleum. The next figure is Thanatos, from whom the beautiful Alkestis is rescued. He is a nude figure in full front view, with a sheathed sword hanging at his side. With raised left hand he beckons his consent that his lovely charge may leave his dark abode. Large wings springing from his shoulders, and his face, expressive of mysterious melancholy, together with his sword, at once reveal the Greek conception of the god of death, the brother of Hypnos, god of sleep.¹⁰⁶⁸ Thus, in Euripides' tragedy, Alkestis saw him winged and carrying a sword. The bit of a strong arm, of a sixth figure, may belong to a Heracles waiting for Alkestis' arrival upon earth. The remaining figures are gone, leaving no trace as to whether Apollo and the expectant Admetos were among them. In this relief, the details, especially of the nude figures, show a neglect of the last finishing touches: perhaps, from some cause, the work was left unfinished. The general composition, and contrast of figures, are, however, worthy of a great master. The exceedingly difficult task of representing a row of standing figures, without their seeming sundered, is admirably accomplished; and at the same time, when seen from any point, they form a complete group. The ingenious manner in which requisite variety of planes is obtained without disturbing the general outlines of the shaft by undue projections, is, moreover, admirably adapted to architectural ornament. On one of the remaining drums, Heracles seems to be struggling with an Amazon; but the other four are mutilated beyond interpretation.

Immense sculptured blocks were also discovered, seven pieces in all, large and small; but these were likewise too broken to divine their subjects or purpose. Professor Newton has expressed the opinion, that they may have formed

the basement of a large altar, perhaps somewhat after the style of the Great Pergamon Altar.¹⁰⁶⁹ Mr. Wood raises the ponderous blocks up above the columns, and makes them a part of the frieze ; and Mr. Fergusson supposes them to have served as pedestals to the sculptured columns, such pedestals being met with in Roman art, but hitherto unknown in Greek architecture.¹⁰⁷⁰ The sculptured shafts of Ephesos are strange in Greek buildings, and seem to show a decidedly Asianic tendency : but that three rows of relief adorned the main shaft, as Mr. Wood supposes from slight variations in the diameters of some of the drums, seems a degree of luxuriousness quite beyond even the Asiatic Ionians ; and the fragments, when supplemented, will doubtless find some more satisfactory explanation. The style of the fragments, resembling in some particulars that of the Mausoleum, has as yet found no exact parallel. The work may be that of native artists, perhaps working under Attic masters. These men, we know, were numerous in Asia Minor during the century when the great temple was built, an altar by Praxiteles having been in Ephesos itself.

From these monumental Ephesian marbles, which conclude our survey of sculpture in the Greek world from the first three-quarters of the fourth century B.C., we may turn to consider the new time inaugurated by the world-conqueror, Alexander.

THE HELLENISTIC AGE OF SCULPTURE.

FROM ABOUT THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT (323 B.C.) TO
THE PREVALENCE OF ROMAN DOMINION, AND FALL
OF THE PERGAMON DYNASTY (133 B.C.).

CHAPTER XXX.

INTRODUCTION.—SCULPTURE IN GREECE AND SAMOTHRACE.

Features of the Hellenistic Age. — Wide Spread of Greek Influence. — Realism in Art. — Asiatic Influences. — Pageants. — Hephaestion's Funeral Pyre. — Sculptures associated with Landscape. — Art in Attica. — Artists. — *Kistophoros* of Fitzwilliam Museum. — Dionysos. — Tombstones. — Tower of the Winds. — Art in the Peloponnesos. — Artists. — Sikyon. — Chares. — Olympia. — Athlete's Head. — Small Monuments. — Relief of Polybios. — Art in Macedonia. — Pottery. — Samothrake. — Its Buildings, etc. — Nike of Samothrake.

WITH Alexander the Great, and his greater teacher Aristotle, begins a new era in the history of Greece and of the world. Watching the Macedonian conqueror, we should see him at first sweeping like a tornado over the East, overturning its vast empires, and shaking to their very centre its hoary civilizations. But following in his wake we should see also the clarifying influences of Hellenic culture, spreading now far beyond its former narrow limits, and everywhere taking on a new and peculiar coloring. This new age, termed Hellenistic, in distinction from the earlier, more purely Hellenic time, lasted from Alexander, for somewhat more than two hundred years, until Roman power gained the ascendancy in the Greek world. Even before Alexander's epoch-making conquests, Aristotle was propounding his new philosophy, destined to do its share in revolutionizing and shaping the character of the dawning age. The intense striving to grasp the reality of things, which now prevailed, and the search for the essential foundations of knowledge, paved the way for genuine scientific research, and made this a time of reflection. Great changes in thought, language, art, and society, attended upon the spread of the new philosophy and of Greek dominion. The veil of idealism, which had rested upon life, was being torn away; and in its place the actual life of man, with all its tragedy and terrible earnestness, as well as playful light-heartedness, was laid bare. While influenced by what had gone before, this age was not a feeble reflex of the earlier passions and thoughts, nor was it a time of crude realism. We shall see that in every department it profited by its glorious heritage, the thoughts and ideals of which it used and applied in a manner peculiar to the changed times and circumstances. The interest of this time centres no longer in Greece itself: the stage has become a far wider one, and the players upon it are not small republics, but powerful Greek dynasties, with great resources to back them.

At the very threshold, and lasting for well-nigh one generation, were terrible commotions in the whole ancient world, resulting from the rivalries of Alexander's generals, each one fighting for the largest share in the now shattered empire.¹⁰⁷¹ But there then came a more peaceful time, when, out of the fragments, various kingdoms arose to occupy the foreground of history, and to transmit the traditions of Greek civilization to the future. Oldest among these were the kingdoms of the Ptolemies in Egypt, of the Seleukidæ in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the Macedonian house in Thrace and Macedonia. Pergamon, and minor kingdoms in Asia Minor, likewise soon asserted themselves, and varied the boundaries of the older powers. Still another element, not to be forgotten in this turbulent age, now came to play an important part. This was the strength of the hordes of Gauls, or Galatians as the Greeks called them, who, about 280 B.C., overran Greece, and, passing the Hellespont, spread terror also among the rising cities of Asia Minor. Allying themselves to different monarchs, they came to be an important factor in history as well as in art. During an age of such extended dominion and Titanic struggle between rival dynasties, it is not strange that the small republics of old Hellas, while existing, should have been forced to seek the favor of the most powerful, and thus have lost their significance. The proud old historic rights were gone, and in vain did the Achaian League finally endeavor to recover them by calling in the aid of the Romans: for the Greeks soon felt the clutch of that relentless power; and after the conquest of Corinth, 146 B.C., Greece became a province of the Roman Empire. And but little later, 133 B.C., Pergamon also passed into the hands of Rome, which now slowly but surely absorbed the remainder of the Greek world.

Of this long period of turmoil and of intense activity, between Alexander and the Romans, when Greek princes held wide sway, the historian has, for the most part, recorded only the crimes of the ruling houses, their cruel selfishness, breaches of faith, and conquering campaigns. But from between his lines, from inscribed documents now discovered, from poetry, and still more from the now rescued sculptures, we have witnesses to the grandeur of that era. The tide of Greek civility now flooded the vast Orient, even to the borders of India; and when it set back, towards the close of the period, to Rome in the West, it was tinged with a new coloring. Following Alexander, in his course to the shores of the Nile, and far into the heart of Asia, we should trace, in outward matters, these life-giving influences. We should see springing up, all over the vast regions he conquered, numberless Greek cities; not the monotonous and lifeless conglomerates of the Orient, but corporations having vigorous internal life, calling into play the powers of the citizen, and encouraging the development of the individual. The story, that Alexander founded sixty cities among the barbarians, is not exaggerated; and the fact, that this great colonizer only began the work, is abundantly proved by what is recorded of his successors. Numerous

decrees preserved show the life in these cities.¹⁰⁷² But how brief are the accounts given of the way in which they were laid out, of their temples, palaces, and theatres, and of the wealth of statuary and of relief which adorned them! The stories of the splendor of Alexandria and of Antioch, of the palaces and triumphal arches there to be seen, of the sacred images in the groves, of the costly pictures and statues in the private apartments, are tantalizing in their meagreness. And yet by gleanings from the poets, and inferences from the imitative art of the Roman age, many features in the tremendous art activity of these Hellenistic times had been traced even before excavations unearthed actual monuments.¹⁰⁷³ Looking, as it were, through a thick veil, the practised eye had read, in the familiar forms of Roman art, indications of originals from this time. So it had been shown that the Pompeian wall-paintings, and much of Roman sculpture, are but an echo of that lost world of art. But the veil is now lifted. In the marbles from Pergamon and from Samothrake, and in bronzes from many different sites, we have at last eloquent witnesses, at first hand, from this wonderful period, while, no doubt, much would still reward the faithful and self-sacrificing excavator.

In looking across the broad plains of history, we see, then, in this Hellenistic age, stormy elements in wild commotion, sweeping over the landscape, and a strange, rushing life, leaving far behind the quiet simplicity and unconscious spontaneity of earlier days. Did Art, then, pass untouched through all these vicissitudes? or did her garments catch the storm-wind, and answer back to the tempest, and did her face reflect the sunshine and the gloom of this period?

If we may judge from existing remains, sculpture seems now to have well-nigh deserted its old home in Athens and the Peloponnesos. One of the striking features of this age was its mercantile activity and material prosperity, developed under the patronage of wise rulers, in spite of the political fermentation. The Greeks now had the world opened up to them, and, indeed, were forced to seek in this greater world an outlet for their highly developed and varied powers, which could no longer be confined by narrow territorial limits. Sometimes as thrifty tradesmen or bold adventurers; again, as travellers, physicians, sculptors, and artists; often as hireling soldiery, — Greeks were met with everywhere, from the Indies in the East, to Massilia (modern Marseilles) in the West. This wider field and intenser activity made life more complex, and doubtless, in many respects, more akin to our modern civilization, than that which had characterized the quieter, more purely Hellenic society of older days. The stirring tempests and ever-changing scenes through which the age passed, stimulated thought and criticism; and scientific life flourished as never before. Historical and archæological research, and the sciences of grammar and of astronomy, as well as of philosophy, were developed to a rare degree. The great libraries at Alexandria and at Pergamon are clear witnesses to this literary and scientific activity. Anatomy was raised, by men like Erasistratos, to

the rank of an independent study, wielding an influence, as monuments seem to show, on artists and art. The poets, dwelling upon the themes handed down, elaborated them according to the new taste, sometimes emphatically reflective, as in the idyl, and often verging on to the fantastic; and so in art the reflective element and the influence of a wild fantasy became prominent. The great striving of the age to grasp reality, commencing with Aristotle in science, showed itself in history, which was now no longer satisfied with great general facts. When Xenophon of an older day described an historical person, he mentioned only what was essential to his character; but now the historian's passion was to add vividness to his picture by descriptions of personal appearance, clothing, and habits. In like spirit the sculptors of this age represented men just as they lived and walked among them, giving characteristics of form and face with startling force and realism, quite different from the ideal generalizations of their predecessors, who, to use Pliny's phrase, had made "noble men nobler." Moreover, the closer intercourse of the nations, while it aroused a feeling of brotherhood, must now have also awakened a keener sense of the differences of race, and of national peculiarities. The sharp distinction between Greek and barbarian, marking the older and more exclusive time, now disappearing, the Greeks recognized many admirable traits in those they had once despised. They were now, more than ever before, open to influences from the Orient. Thus, even at the court of Demetrios Poliorketes, a semi-Hellenic, semi-Oriental etiquette was introduced. The products of Oriental art were eagerly sought after, as we learn from literary sources, and from Oriental remains in Greek graves, such as those found in the tomb of a Greek lady in Southern Russia.^{1073a} Although Oriental art exercised much influence on Greek drapery and minor decoration, as appears from vase-paintings, it seems to have little affected sculpture directly, except, perhaps, in rousing it to more fantastic combinations, as well as to more splendid undertakings.

The wide-spread luxuriousness of this time, and its monumental spirit, are attested, not only by the size and magnificence of the few enduring monuments existing, but also by the accounts of the lavishness with which art was applied to beautify ephemeral public celebrations. In this, Alexander had set the fashion in piling up a mountain of art to be the funeral pyre of his beloved Hephaestion.¹⁰⁷⁴ Ten thousand talents were set apart for this purpose; and an additional two thousand were contributed by friends, high dignitaries, and the Babylonians. A part of the wall of Babylon was torn down to furnish material for the structure, which arose in five terraces to a height of two hundred feet. The whole gleamed with gold, purple cloth, decorative paintings, and statuary. Here were to be seen, about the lowest terrace, two hundred and forty golden prows, upon each of which stood a colossal statue of an armed warrior between two kneeling archers, conceived, doubtless, as in contest. Besides, the colossal structure was decorated with a battle of centaurs, scenes of actual warfare,

and of the hunt, as well as with fantastic animals. On its summit stood Sirens of costly workmanship, out of which sounded the funeral dirge. Amid sacrifices, mourning processions, and songs of lament, this gorgeous pyre was given to the flames. Offerings now followed, in honor of the hero Hephaestion, Alexander himself consecrating the first gifts. Ten thousand bullocks were slain as sacrifices to the now heroed friend, and the whole army was invited to a grand repast; still other festivities following on the ensuing days. In similar gorgeous pageants, in which statuary, likewise, played a most important part, did the rulers after Alexander vie with one another; and from the detailed descriptions of these pageants, as well as from the general tenor of the poets of the day, it may be gathered, that sculpture came now more than ever to be so applied as to form a part of a showy and imposing whole.

Moreover, at this time was developed a high enjoyment of nature in landscape and in gardening; and sculpture found a new field, as ministering to this taste, enhancing often the beauty of a charming valley or mountain side, its forms conceived in wonderful harmony with the surroundings, and not to be divorced from them. This age was, in addition, one in which, as a Zeuxis, a Parrhasios, an Apelles, and others had brought painting to highest perfection, the potent influence of their great pictures could not fail to be felt by sculpture. This influence is clearly traceable in the pictorial treatment of detail, the new and often strange groupings, as well as in the striving after illusion and vivid reality, although sculpture still held on to the grand framework of form it had received from times gone by.

But of the intenser life, the new creations, and the varied renderings of older themes, which characterized this age, we shall learn most by going to the monuments themselves. They shall teach us, that this Hellenistic age was not a weakened child of the old, but its worthy heir; and that Pliny must have been strangely misinformed when he wrote, that, with Olymp. 121 (296 B.C.), art ceased, but gained new life by Olymp. 156 (156 B.C.).¹⁰⁷⁵ By the recognition, moreover, of the strength and vigor of an age which could produce the Nike of Samothrake, the Great Altar of Pergamon, and the Venus of Melos, as well as the so-called Dying Gladiator, and numerous portraits of highest excellence, we shall better realize the course of Greek genius, which through the centuries left none of its rare powers undeveloped.

Among the art-centres of this age, Athens, the old home of ideal thought and sculpture, naturally first attracts our attention. Although politically humbled, never again to regain her former glory, she had not lost altogether her old fire, nor sunken to a state of utter servility, as a one-sided history would have us believe. The conclusive testimony of inscriptions shows that she resisted to her utmost, even to the last.¹⁰⁷⁶ The extravagant story, that on the flight of Demetrios of Phaleron, the Macedonian regent, his three hundred and

sixty statues were broken down to give place to golden ones erected to the new ruler, Demetrios Poliorketes, is, doubtless, largely a fabrication; while the spirit of subjection it implies finds a natural explanation in the straits to which Athens was then reduced, confronted no longer by Persian barbarians as of old, but by her neighbors, the highly civilized powers of the day, — foes far more subtle and formidable. Her glory was, however, no doubt, fast passing away; for, after Alexander, the city was, as it were, kept alive by the great rival rulers.¹⁰⁷⁷ We are told that there was activity in painting in Athens, down to the time of the Roman dominion; and, although sculptors' names are only preserved to us from the opening years of the period, still it is evident that the traditions of sculpture were kept up, since, after the conquest by Rome, Athens sent thither many sculptors, whose works, however, appear to have been of secondary importance.

Among the masters active in Athens at the opening of the Hellenistic age, were Scopas' younger associates; and there can be no doubt that the prime of Praxiteles' sons and scholars fell also at this time. These latter, Kephisodotos and Timarchos by name, appear to have worked much in common; their names being found together, not only in several recently discovered inscriptions, but also in several ancient authors. Of these brothers, Kephisodotos was probably the more important; it being said expressly of him alone, that he was "heir to his father's art."¹⁰⁷⁸ Their prime is placed by Pliny about 296 B.C. (Olymp. 121): but their activity must have commenced during the latter part of the fourth century, perhaps about the time of Alexander's death, and have lasted until 284 B.C.; it being said that Kephisodotos executed the portrait of a poetess Moiro, who lived as late as 284 B.C.¹⁰⁷⁹ According to an inscription discovered in Athens, they executed a statue to their uncle Theoxenides, as well as a portrait-statue of some unknown person, the fragmentary inscribed pedestal of which has been discovered near the Erechtheion.¹⁰⁸⁰ Another inscription on a pedestal recently discovered in the ruins of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens, informs us that on it stood a portrait-statue of Menander (342–293 B.C.), whose stinging lines won for him the first rank among the poets of the new comedy. Gladly would we associate this very pedestal, and these masters, with an admirable seated Menander in Greek marble, now in the Vatican; the size of which, however, exceeding by several centimeters the Athenian pedestal, prevents such a possibility.¹⁰⁸¹ Moreover, the evidence is that the Vatican Menander was originally executed not alone, but as a companion figure to that of Poseidippos, who still sits beside him, as he has done through the centuries during which both these ancient Greek poets, transformed into Christian saints, received worship in St. Lorenzo in Panisperna. Although we cannot, then, trace to Praxiteles' sons the Vatican Menander and its companion, yet they, no doubt, well represent that realistic portraiture which was rapidly developed after the time of Alexander, and of which many other fine specimens are pre-

served. Other joint works of the brothers were the wooden statues of Lycurgos, the great Athenian orator and financier, who died about 324 B.C., and of his three sons. Still others were a figure of Enyo, goddess of fierce war, and ravager of towns, which was seen in the Temple of Ares in Athens by Pausanias, and a Cadmos in Thebes.¹⁰⁸² Of Kephisodotos' work alone, we hear of statues of contemporary poetesses, Anyte of Tegea, and Moiro of Byzantium, as well as of philosophers, which were probably in bronze.¹⁰⁸³ To the range of more purely ideal subjects belong his statues in marble of a Leto, an Aphrodite, an Asclepios, and an Artemis, all of which were removed to Rome, and are mentioned by Pliny as being respectively in the Palatine Temple, in the possession of Asinius Pollio, and in the Portico of Octavia.¹⁰⁸⁴ More celebrated than these, but the subject of much controversy, was a group in Pergamon by this same master, — a *symplegma* (struggle), as Pliny calls it, in which, as he says, the fingers seemed to press into flesh, and not marble. This struggle is supposed to have been of erotic character, and is, possibly, to be associated with the group, a satyr struggling with a nymph, preserved to us in several *replicas*.¹⁰⁸⁵

One other master in Athens, Polyeuctos, is known to us from this time, his fame being due to a portrait-statue he executed of Demosthenes, doubtless the parent figure of existing portraits, in which the great patriot is represented with the scanty robe, earnest, furrowed face, and frail body ascribed to him by history. Polyeuctes' bronze portrait, put up in Athens in 280 B.C., represented Demosthenes as standing with folded hands, — a gesture, throughout classic antiquity, expressive of perplexity, and often of affliction. Beneath was the telling epigram, "Had, O Demosthenes, thy piercing and strenuous will been supported by proportionate strength, they might have rescued thy fatherland from Philip!"¹⁰⁸⁶ At a late date this bronze itself, or a copy, was seen at Constantinople. The admiration of the Romans and of others for the great men of the past, which led to the frequent repetition of their portraits for private galleries or for libraries, explains the existence of the very many heads, and even of several statues, of Demosthenes in marble. Of the heads, the one in the royal gardens at Athens (Fig. 223) has a speaking life, which at once impresses us when compared with the more generalized calm portraits of an earlier and quieter time; such, for instance, as the Pericles (p. 324) traceable to the fifth, or the Sophocles (p. 489) to the fourth, century. In this fragmentary head of the Athenian orator, Demosthenes, the sunken cheeks seem to suggest the frail body, and the closely pressed lips to witness to the struggle won over a stammering speech. The earnest gaze, furrowed, thoughtful brow, and knitted eyebrows show us, we feel, the noble patriot as he appeared daily among the Athenians, harassed like him by the impending storms. Two complete statues seem derived indirectly from the original bronze by Polyeuctos; one being in the Knoke collection (England), and the other in the Vatican. Both have

the lean arms, bared, bony chest, and scant drapery, doubtless characteristic of the afflicted patriot, but carry a roll instead of having the hands folded, — a change supposed by Michaelis to be due to a time when Demosthenes had come to be admired more as the great author than as the afflicted patriot.

A very few large monuments in Attica, dating from the Hellenistic age, also deserve mention. An imposing example of the architectural sculpture, doubtless of the early part of the age, is that colossal marble figure from

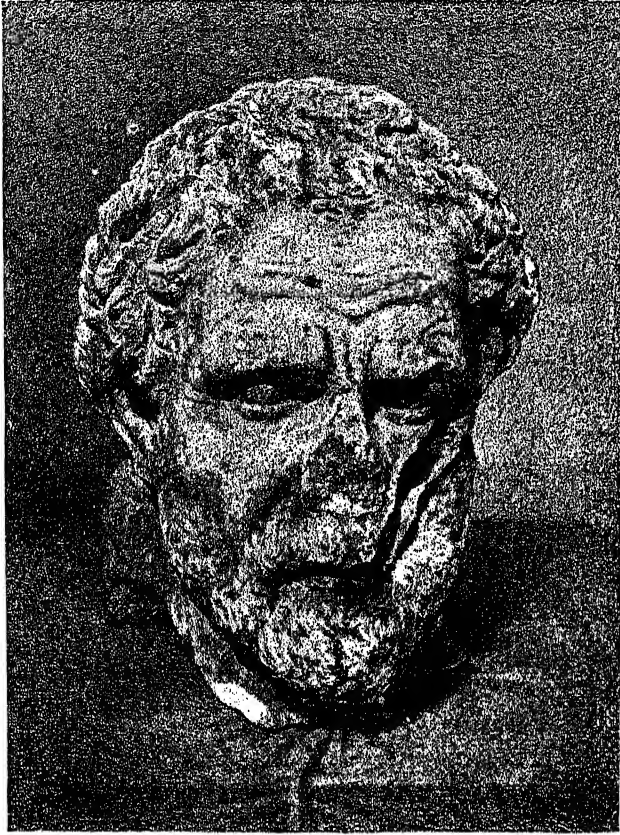


Fig. 223. Portrait of Demosthenes. Athens.

sacred Eleusis, mentioned by a French traveller in 1668, and which, though shipwrecked on the way to England, arrived safely at last in 1801, and now adorns the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It represents a superb female form, with erect head, bearing a *cista*, or sacred mystic vessel, such as was used in the Eleusinian mysteries and Bacchic festivals.¹⁰⁸⁷ Signs of attachment, doubtless to an architrave, show that it could not have been the great temple statue, but formed a part of some building. Both arms — parts of which were found within a few years by Professor Colvin — were evidently raised, supporting the precious burden; and bands fastened together by a button-like object in

the centre, bearing a Gorgon head, as a symbol to avert harm, cross the breast, and seem to hold the drapery in place.¹⁰⁸⁸ The imposing size of the figure, as well as the peculiar decoration of the bands on the *cista*, on which appear mystic symbols,—a tureen, ears of corn, and torches, or wands,—are marks of an age later than the sternly simple Pheidian century. These peculiarities have, moreover, much in common with the general spirit of the Hellenistic age, which was inclined to symbolism, and showy, elaborate effects; and it is not improbable that this figure was put up by Demetrios of Phaleron, who renewed the decorations of Demeter's Eleusinian sanctuary during the opening years of the Hellenistic age. Although the face of this *Kistophoros* is entirely ruined, we have, doubtless, before us, in the general pose and scheme of the grand fragment, a Greek original for feebler Roman copies, like those of the Villa Albani at Rome.¹⁰⁸⁹

Another Attic work of this age is a statue, which Lord Elgin removed to England, from a choragic monument in Athens. The monument itself was, according to the inscription, put up in 320 B.C., by Thrasyllus, but, about fifty years later (270 B.C.), was enlarged and adorned by his grandson, Thrasykles, who placed upon it the marble statue which is now in the British Museum.¹⁰⁹⁰ The travellers Spon and Wheler saw it in 1617, still surmounting its ancient grotto in Athens, "a sedent figure clothed, but without a head." Judging from the *nebris* falling across it, it represents Dionysos. The forms are soft and almost feminine in their roundness; and a large hole in the left side seems to indicate that to it a bronze attribute—perhaps a lyre, or possibly the prize tripod—was attached. Although the arms, which, like the head, were of separate pieces of marble, are now gone, still the dignity of the fully draped figure, and the freedom and skill with which the marble is handled, give us no mean conception of the power of Athenian art about 270 B.C.

Comparing, however, the tombstones found in Athens, of this and the following century, with those of the preceding time, there seems to have been a marked sinking of ability and creative power. The beautiful large monuments, of careful workmanship, are supplanted by tombstones very small, and carelessly executed. The law made by Demetrios of Phaleron, to check growing extravagance, and limiting the height of tombstones to three cubits, may have had much to do with this great change, while the troublous times, doubtless, had their share in laming artistic ability. Votive reliefs also show a change, and seem to follow more closely and mechanically certain types. Those to Kybele, the foreign Phrygian goddess, now prevail, but are more interesting on account of their mythological secrets than of their art. Those to Pan and the nymphs are sometimes pleasing; but when compared with reliefs of the Pheidian age sacred to the nymphs (p. 379), we see what a change has taken place. One votive slab, said to have been discovered in Lampsacos, and now in Vienna (Fig. 224), may serve as an illustration of the general composition

and conception of these later Athenian reliefs, which are all, however, of a more summary and inferior workmanship. It represents, like the Athenian reliefs, not a plane surface, as in the older monuments, but, in a most pictorial manner, an actual grotto, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, those deities of rustic nature. Thus, all around its entrance are seen rocks, among which are perched doves, the central one even dressing its feathers. In some Attic reliefs, a flock of goats take this place. In one corner sits Pan, the ancient Attic god, with his goat-legs crossed, and piping on his syrinx; while, led by Hermes, the nymphs, a lovely sisterly trio, dance. Holding hands, with rhythmic step, they seem to move toward the altar, their long garments blown



Fig. 224. Votive Relief to Pan and to the Nymphs. Vienna.

back by the wind. The last one alone accompanies the movement by raising gracefully over her head the hand, in which were, doubtless, the sounding *cotala*, or castanets, like those in her left hand. Not only the height of her girdle, directly under the breasts, but also the elaborate *coiffure* of all these figures, in which the hair lies like parallel skeins over the head, are peculiarities which abound on objects of the third century B.C., but are not met with in those of an earlier day. Such variations in female costume serve as a reliable guide in determining the age of ancient monuments. In the Parthenon marbles, and Erechtheion maidens of the fifth century, the girdle was worn, as we have seen, far down near the hips. In the next, the fourth century, it slipped up somewhat higher, as seen in the Amazons of the Mausoleum. By the second century, however, the time of the Great Pergamon Altar, we find the girdle bound directly below the bosom, as will be seen in the goddesses of the frieze.

The style of the *coiffure* shows even greater variety, as it steadily passed from the simplicity and naturalness of the Pheidian age over to greater elaboration, a mirror of the growing luxury and elegance, and may best be studied on coins.¹⁰⁹¹

During this age, when Athens was politically so low, and probably unable to carry out great works, foreign rulers remembered her with regal gifts of statuary and architecture.¹⁰⁹² The only remaining representative of the extensive buildings then erected is the so-called Tower of the Winds, an octagonal structure, built in 159 B.C., by the astronomer Andronikos, of Kyrrhos in Syria, more interesting for its meteorological plan than for its art (Fig. 225). The building was so constructed, that, against each of its eight sides, there blew a different wind, represented by a figure in relief.¹⁰⁹³ Thus Boreas, the North-wind, appears as a thickly clad old man, with dishevelled hair, and pouring hailstones out of a vase; Zephyros, the West-wind, is a gentle youth, scattering flowers out of his lap; and so each of the winds is individualized in agreeable allegory. But conception and rendering of these forms, all of which float horizontally, are hardly to be recognized as belonging to Attic art, so inferior are they to all we have from the days of its glory.

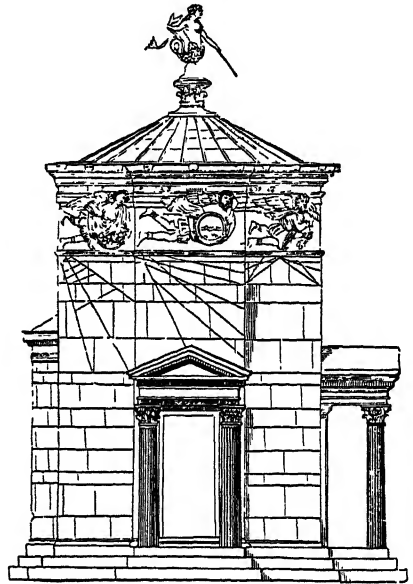


Fig. 225. The Tower of the Winds, or Horologion of Andronikos (restored). Athens.

Turning now to the Peloponnesos, we should find, that, at the opening of the Hellenistic age, Lysippos' numerous scholars were active; although few names appear from a later date, the scattered tombstones, votive reliefs, and honorary monuments found there testify to the fact that there was activity then also, if not of a creative, progressive kind. As had been the case with his forerunner Polycleitos, so around the great Lysippos, there clustered a numerous school. Among these scholars were Lysippos' own sons, Daippos, Boëdas, and Euthykrates, who, according to Pliny, were praiseworthy sculptors, and flourished in Olymp. 121 (296 B.C.), when the Hellenistic age, with all its changes, had fully dawned upon the Greek world. Concerning Daippos, we only know that he executed two statues of victors for Olympia, and an Apoxyomenos, thus repeating a subject, as we have seen, treated by his father.¹⁰⁹⁴ Of Boëdas' works, we only know of "one praying," as Pliny tersely describes it.¹⁰⁹⁵ The practice of introducing nearly every act with prayer, among the ancient Greeks, is well confirmed.¹⁰⁹⁶ The

beginning of the day, the close of a meal, the entrance upon household duties by a young wife, as well as all gatherings of people for council or war, were accompanied by prayer; and there is reason to believe that the young athlete, before entering upon the games, also besought the assistance of the god. It is most probable, then, that this statue by Boëdas represented such a praying athlete. It is, moreover, reported, that the Greek, when engaged in prayer, stood with uncovered head. When calling upon the gods of the heavens, he stretched his arms upwards; when seeking the gods of the sea, he stretched

them forwards towards it; and when imploring those of the under-world, he beat upon the ground to attract their attention, always accompanying his gestures with an audible voice. His hands were always open, clasped hands having been looked upon as a hinderance to progress and good fortune, and a token of trouble. A kneeling position was avoided, as unbecoming to a free being. It would be most gratifying, could we identify with Boëdas' praying figure that beautiful bronze boy of the Berlin Museum, scarcely touched by the modern restorer (Fig. 226). Its small head, slender proportions, and peculiar treatment of hair, like that of the Apoxyomenos (p. 517), mark it with certainty as belonging to the Lysippian school. As we see this lad poise his weight lightly on the left leg, stretch out his arms and open hands heavenwards, while directing thither his fervent gaze, and opening his lips in prayer, how exalted the idea we gain of the beauty inherent in such subjects of Lysippian art! We see also mirrored here a



Fig. 226. *The Praying Boy of the Berlin Museum.*

very old custom; for, in Homeric verse, the heroes "stretch their hands to the gods," and "look up to heaven."¹⁰⁹⁷ The thinness of the bronze in this figure is strong evidence that it dates from a skilful age, and doubtless from about the time of Lysippos' sons. Although of life size, it is easily transportable by one man; unlike Roman bronzes of the same size, as, for instance, a bronze boy found in the Rhine, which is also in the Berlin Museum, and requires four men to lift it. Euthycrates, Lysippos' remaining son, enjoys greater fame than his brothers, and is said to have deviated from the principles followed by his father; but Pliny's passage, concerning these changes, is so

obscure, that opinions differ as to its purport.¹⁰⁹⁸ Among his works, several seem to have been in honor of the great Alexander: a Heracles by him was in Delphi, and a Trophonios in Lebadeia. One scholar of Euthykrates is mentioned, Tisikrates,—whose works, however, are said to have resembled Lysippos' more than those of his teacher.¹⁰⁹⁹ Tisikrates' statues, representing a The-

ban sire, King Demetrios, and Peukestes, one of Alexander's generals, show that his activity fell at the opening of this new age, and was employed for its influential men. Another member of this school, Xenocrates,—by some called a scholar of Euthykrates, and by others of Tisikrates,—appears, according to Pliny, to have been more productive than either of these men, and to have worked exclusively in bronze. He also wrote books on art, sources from which Pliny frequently quoted. But the true importance of this master has only recently come to our knowledge; the excavations at Pergamon having shown us that he was employed there, doubtless carrying over the traditions of the Lysippian school into that new centre of art. On one of the Pergamon pedestals, which stood on the *piazza* in front of Athena's temple, and which bore bronze statues, his name may still be read.¹¹⁰⁰ Of Phanis, another



Fig. 227. *The City Goddess Tyche and the River God Orontes. Vatican.*

of Lysippos' scholars, we only know, that he represented a "woman offering."¹¹⁰¹ But of still another, Eutyichides, of Sikyon, we learn, that his prime was in the early part of the third century; and that, like so many artists of this time, he was employed by the rising rulers of other parts of the world. Unlike most Sikyon masters, he is said to have worked in marble as well as in bronze, and was a painter as well as sculptor. A Dionysos in marble by

him was owned later by Asinius Pollio; his Eurotas in bronze was praised, because of its art, and was said, though in harsh metal, to have been more flowing even than the river itself; a boy victor, Timosthenes, from his hand, stood in Olympia.¹¹⁰² Of his Tyche with the River Orontes, executed for Antioch, echoes are preserved to us in Antioch coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican (Fig. 227).¹¹⁰³ Here the city goddess rests negligently on a rock, a graceful, gentle figure, quite different from the dignified goddesses of olden times; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

But Lysippos' most famous scholar was Chares from Lindos, on the wealthy

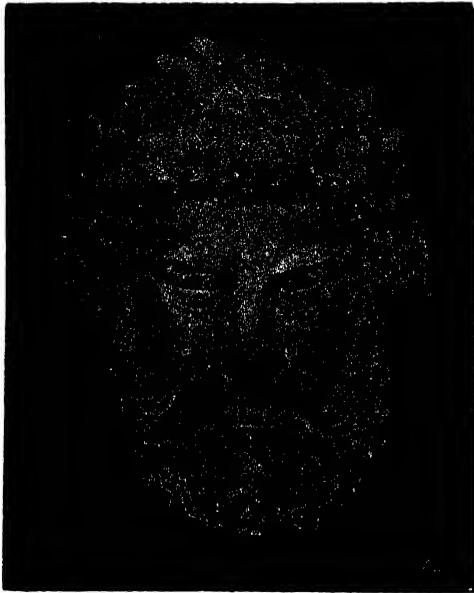


Fig. 228. Bronze Head of a Victor in the Olympic Games. Olympia.

island of Rhodes, which was destined now to take a leading part in the development of Greek sculpture. Chares will be considered later when treating of the art of Rhodes, to which island he must have carried the perfected traditions, developed by the hoary Argive-Sikyon school which now should yield the field of creative activity to the younger, more vigorous Greek states of the East.

Turning from Sikyon to other parts of Greece, we find that artists were still active for Olympia; but that its prominent patrons were now the powerful successors of Alexander, and their immediate descendants, of whom many statues were put up, but unhappily known only through

fragmentary inscriptions.¹¹⁰⁴ Statues to victorious athletes, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions, still continued to be erected in the *altis*, all through the Hellenistic age, and even down to the third century A. D.; proving, that, during a period long thought to have been unproductive in this kind of art, there was constant activity.¹¹⁰⁵ Very few fragments of these numerous statues to athletes have come down to us; but one magnificent life-size bronze head has been preserved, of such power and naturalism as to make us doubly regret the loss of the remainder (Fig. 228). This head was found in a part of the sacred grove, far removed from the great temple, near which the statue to which it belonged had doubtless stood.¹¹⁰⁶ The neck shows signs of having been roughly cut away from the trunk; and the site, and mode of concealment, of this fragment in coveted bronze, indicate the intention to hide it, on the part of the plunderer. As the wreath in the hair

proves, this was a victorious athlete; but so brutal are his features that we are tempted to associate him with professional prize-fighters. That he had won the Olympic victor's wreath of wild olive, appears from a single leaf of sheet-bronze, still above the right temple, showing that other leaves had also been fastened on to the shaggy hair after the head was cast. The swollen ears mark him as a combatant in the boxing-game; and his portrait features may indicate that he was one of those thrice victorious, to whom the honor of a portrait-statue in the sacred grove was allowed. What a contrast this profile, to the ideal faces with which we are familiar in Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ! Gone is the line of beauty in forehead and chin; a brush-like beard making more pronounced the projection of the brutal chin, far beyond the upper part of the face. In contrast to portrait-heads of those times, we likewise see great change. Each detail of skin and hair is brought out by the most skilful use of the burin, the locks being made more natural by strong furrows graven parallel with the general flow. The same care in chiselling is seen also in the skin, and not only in parts in tension over the forehead, but also in the wrinkled folds about the eyes, especially in the uninjured right side of the face. Indeed, the characteristics of this ancient athlete have been so admirably caught, that we do not wonder that his great strength and determined will won the prize on the ancient boxing-ground. Comparing this head, then, with those of the fourth century B. C. on the one hand, and with the later Pergamon marbles on the other, and remembering that with Lysippos a strongly realistic style of portraiture was encouraged, we gain a clew to its age. Placed alongside of the so-called Mausolos of the British Museum, from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, this bronze athlete seems more realistic in conception; and hence we may conclude that its more developed portraiture belongs to a later date. But contrasted with any one of the giants of the Pergamon frieze, which are from the second century B.C., this head is reserved in style. Compare, for instance, the bold modelling of the dishevelled eyebrows of the Pergamon giants, with the careful regularity with which those of this athlete's head are graven. Such characteristics in treatment make it probable that this bronze head is somewhat older than the giants, and belongs to the third century B.C.; but who the artist who executed these fierce forms, and in what land he lived, are still perplexing questions.

Small monuments, for the most part tombstones and votive reliefs, are met with in different parts of the Peloponnesos, which, judging from inscriptions and style, must belong to the third and second centuries B.C.; but more important than these is a more than life-size inscribed relief, recently noticed at Cleitor in Northern Arcadia, where it long served as a guide-post.¹¹⁰⁷ This beardless, standing warrior, with his helmet and round shield on the ground by his side, his long spear resting against his left arm, and the right raised high, as if addressing his soldiers, is no other than the great statesman and historian,

Polybios, who won the gratitude of his countrymen for the pacifying part he played in the troublous times after the destruction of Corinth, 146 B.C.¹¹⁰⁸ Pausanias speaks of four honorary monuments put up to him by the Arcadians ; and this one forms a fifth, which, on account of its certain date, site of execution, and general pose and style, is of great importance in helping to fill up the yawning gap in the monuments from Greece, for the second century B.C. Its artistic rendering, as might be expected, is feeble when compared, not only with sculptures of earlier days in Greece, but also with contemporary monuments from Pergamon ; although the armor is that of the Hellenistic age. The relief, in general, seems a link between that time and the coming Roman period, which it especially resembles in the treatment of the beardless face. The gesture of the raised right arm, besides, offers proof that the Romans followed a Greek original in their representations of the emperor, as general-in-chief, addressing his army (*adlocutio*).

In Northern Greece, the Macedonian court must have patronized sculpture more or less, but in what direction we do not know. Pyrrhos of Epeiros, as Polybios tells us, owned great collections at Ambrakia ; but of them he gives us only a most summary notice.¹¹⁰⁹ In honor of the repulse of the Galatians before Delphi, numerous thank-offerings, according to Pausanias, were put up to Apollo and to Artemis.

Bronze statuettes, bearing the stamp of this age, have been found together in numbers in Paramythia in Epeiros ; but of marbles from that part, we, as yet, have none. These bronzes, numbering twenty or more, and representing different gods, were found in a cave ; but are now widely scattered in different museums, the British Museum owning not a few, and others being in St. Petersburg. Their small heads and slender proportions mark them as belonging to the age after Lysippos ; while their excellent workmanship, and rendering of form, as well as grace of pose, indicate a date before the prevalence of Roman dominion.

Should we cast a glance at the potter's graceful wares from this age, in Greece itself, we should see that many were executed of exquisite bearing, but of growing luxury and softness. Many are found in Corinth and Bœotia ; and many were exported from Attica to the Crimea, where they are always in strong contrast to the barbarous imitative Scythian work. But this field of the minor arts is altogether too vast to be entered upon here, although, doubtless, to some degree, a reflex of the sculpture of the time, and calculated to throw light upon its spirit.

Taking it all in all, Greece itself is exceedingly poor in large existing monuments from this late stage of its history ; although we know that the rulers of the Hellenistic age remembered its ancient shrines at Olympia, Delphi, and Athens. There is one shrine on a neighboring island, however, which, during

this age, came to enjoy a great significance, and has, fortunately, been so admirably explored by the Austrians, that we may form a very vivid picture of its artistic *ensemble*, and of the part that sculpture now played.¹¹¹⁰ This is the sacred island of Samothrake, its rocky cliffs facing the shores of Thrace, and separated from them by a stormy sea, swept by the north-winds which rush up the island valley in the midst of these cliffs. Cyclopean walls, in admirable preservation, testify to the antiquity of these revered seats; and fragments of a small Doric temple in stone, with very archaic painted forms and bronze ornaments, show the existence of a humble shrine in the depths of the sacred valley in the fifth century B.C.¹¹¹¹ Although, in the following age, this ancient temple seems to have been supplanted by a more luxurious marble structure of the Ionic order, for which Scopas doubtless worked, it was not until the third century B.C., when the island had sheltered royal refugees, that it enjoyed greatest prosperity by reason of its right of asylum. Crowds gathered, from different parts of the ancient world, to its sacred mysteries; numerous temples were built to its gods, by grateful princes and princesses; and sculptured monuments were put up in thanks for victory. Could we picture to ourselves the valley, as it then appeared to the stranger approaching from the sea, with its wealth of architecture and sculpture glistening among the verdure, how different the spectacle from its now bare ruins, scattered marbles, and destructive lime-kilns, clinging like parasites to every site of classic ruins! First to attract attention would have been a building dedicated, as its inscription teaches us, by Arsinoë, the unhappy wife of Ptolemy, to the Great Gods. In the bottom of the ravine we should then have seen the older temple of the fourth century, with its covered pit to receive the blood of offering; and, close behind it, a more sumptuous new one, having a similar sacred pit, and with pediments decorated with sculptures now in Vienna.¹¹¹² These sculptures show that bold, naturalistic treatment, combined with negligent ease of pose, which we have come to recognize as among the striking features of Hellenistic works. So fragmentary, however, are these marbles, that their subjects can scarcely be divined. The drapery of one of these figures, in rapid motion, consisting of a finely ribbed undergarment, brought out in magnificent contrast to the heavier outer robes, is worthy to exist in sculpture for its own intrinsic merit. The form it covers is probably Demeter, seeking her lost daughter Persephone; this goddess appearing thus on the coins of Kyzicos, where the same cult existed as at Samothrake.¹¹¹³ Another graceful figure, but seated, holds a large bunch of grapes, showing her relationship to the worship of Dionysos, which in Samothrake was blended, after the manner of Asia-Minor rites, with that of Kybele. To the left of these central temples, in the sacred valley, we should have seen an imposing temple, built by Ptolemy; and to the right, but high above the rest, the stately colonnade of a long Ionic stoa, which, doubtless, once was thronged with promenading wor-

shippers by day, and with sleeping guests by night. In front of the slender columns, and towering above the temples in the ravine, would have been seen five pedestals, of different sizes, still having signs of the attachment of statuary.

Overlooking the whole peaceful valley, and towering above its complex of temples, would have been seen, standing out gloriously against the regular columns of the neighboring stoa, one imposing monument, with stormy lines and tempestuous action (*Selections*, Plate XIV., on the right). Although much mutilated, this monument, in Parian marble, shows us the colossal figure of a fully draped female, alighted on the prow of a ship, and represents a winged Nike, who sweeps down with lightning speed; the powerful form, with its rushing drapery, seeming to force a way for the imposing goddess of victory. The commanding position of this statue, standing of old at the end of the valley, reveals to us with what consummate taste charms of natural landscape were enhanced by the imposing art of this Hellenistic age. The statue itself, in an exceedingly fragmentary condition, was discovered on the ancient site in 1867, by the French consul Champoisseau, who sent it, with other minor marbles, to the Louvre.¹¹¹⁴ It was not until 1875, however, that the massive pedestal, in the shape of a ship's prow, was discovered, during the thorough excavations of the Austrian expedition on the same site. Although consisting of twenty-three fragments, many of which weigh more than two thousand kilogrammes, the whole was safely removed to the Louvre, and is there being built up again, the statue standing, as of yore, upon its stony prow, below which the sea-

waves are indicated by sculpture. The colossal form of the winged goddess towers up, more than double life-size, above this massive and lofty hulk. Not only the costly material from abroad,—no marble being found in Samothrake itself,—but also the colossal size and marine character of the monument, show that it was a thank-offering from some royal donor, to the shrines at Samothrake, for a great naval victory. As shown by Benndorf, comparison with coins of Demetrios Poliorketes (Fig. 229), struck, prob-



Fig. 229. Coin of Demetrios Poliorketes.

ably, between 294 and 288 B.C., makes it probable that he it was who erected this superb gift in honor of his signal successes off Salamis in Cyprus, in 306 B.C., after which he took the title of king, and long controlled the Archipelago. The approximate date, the first half of the third century B.C., is fixed for the statue, not only by this coincidence with the coins, but also by its magnificent style, very like to that of the pedimental sculptures of the new temple at Samothrake, already mentioned, and proved by the architectural form of the building to date from this age. But this statue is grander than they, and combines intensified realism in detail with powerful ideal form and action, as will be seen most forcibly by placing its representation alongside of those of the

preceding centuries. Comparing form and details of these wings with those of the sculptured columns of Ephesos, how much more feathery and downy the marble here has become! In like manner, comparison with the dawning realism of the Mausoleum folds, or even with the carefully studied, quiet lines of the Hermes' mantle, to say nothing of the plain folds of Paionios' Nike, the companion figure in Selections, Plate XIV., shows how much nearer nature are the texture and surface of these rushing, swelling folds. How complicated also the pose of this goddess! the upper part of the grand body swings to the left, while the motion of the whole sweeps forward in a direct line. Especially do these more advanced features appear when compared with the simpler pose of the older Nike by Paionios. Excavations have shown, that the numerous new temples and other structures of Samothrake were built in the first part of the third century B.C., about the older, less sumptuous sanctuary of the preceding age; and the commanding position of this great statue, towering above all the other monuments of the valley, is clearly chosen with reference to them. This seems another evidence that its date may be fixed in the first part of the third century. Besides, the technique of this colossal figure is no longer that of old, but resembles that of the later marbles from Pergamon. Instead of the solid blocks which in the olden time were used for single figures, here pieces of marble are joined together with almost incredible skill and pains. By this marvellous handling of the marble, the ponderous material was naturally robbed of its impression of weight; and far greater boldness was permitted the sculptor, tempting him, we must believe, to rival even painting or bronze in his obdurate stone, as seems evident in the fragments of the swelling mantle, still preserved. Viewing the tremendous action in this imposing ruin, and catching the grand lines of the noble form, how strong becomes our desire to see the goddess complete once again, as she stormed down on her swift errand in the palmy days of Samothrake! From the fragments it appears, that both arms were raised, perhaps with the sounding trumpet; while the head, following the motion of the body, was turned momentarily to the left, facing, doubtless, those approaching from the stoa.¹¹¹⁵ This side of the statue, moreover, from which it would usually be seen, is its only highly finished part, and shows that freedom and bold skill, so much to be admired in most original works of later Greek art. But the back, which could not appear, having been in front of a cyclopean wall across the end of the valley, is left entirely in the rough; and the farther side is but hastily sketched out. The composition, moreover, is such that the lines seen from the side which looked down upon the stoa appear to greatest advantage. This shows that the statue was conceived directly in connection with its surroundings, and that its lines were intended to be set off by the neighboring architecture, and perhaps by a background of color, — bits of painted stucco having been discovered among the ruins. The creators of this powerful work are unknown. The name of Eutychides, scholar of

Lysippos, and painter as well as sculptor, has been mentioned in connection with it, on account of a kinship of spirit between this work and the miniature copy of his Tyche for Antioch (p. 553).¹¹¹⁶ In both statues a regard for landscape decoration and pictorial elements is thought to prevail, and there is evident a peculiar bravour in the treatment of the drapery. The latter feature is scarcely to be detected in the details of the feeble Roman copy of the Tyche, but may be traced in its general composition. Further excavations, and light from other quarters, may, we hope, in time, give us the names of masters of the Hellenistic age, of whom we know so little, but whose influence we feel in works pulsating with such tremendous life as the Nike of Samothrake.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SCULPTURES IN ASIA MINOR.—PERGAMON.

Common Resemblance of the Sculpture of this Time.—History of Pergamon.—Its Ruling House.—The Galatians.—Artists mentioned.—Battle Monuments.—Temple of Athena Polias.—Statues representing Galatians.—Ludovisi Group.—Dying Galatian.—Discussion of the Origin of this Work.—Attalos' Gifts to Athens.—Small Pergamon Statues of Galatians.—Pergamon Sculptures in Berlin.—Great Activity under Eumenes.—Temples on Acropolis of Pergamon.—The Great Altar.—Present State of Ruins.—The Great Altar referred to in Scripture.—Humann's Excavations.—Description of Altar.—Subjects of its Sculptures.—Statues of Gods and of Giants.—The Zeus Group.—Goddess hurling Snake-bound Vase at the Enemy.—Characteristics and Variety of these Sculptures.—Style.—Different from Dying Galatian, etc.—Wonderful Mastery of Technique.—Pictorial Character.—Resemblances to Other Works.—Sources used by Pergamon Artists.—Who they were.—Small Frieze.—Its Myth.—Subjects treated.—Position of these Works.—Other Buildings and Statuary at Pergamon.—Copies of Pergamon Art.—Priene.—Influence of Pergamon.—Tralles.—Farnese Bull.—The Myth.—Resemblance to Pergamon Art.—Its Artists.—Venus of Melos.—Its Discovery and Present State.—Compared with Other Works.—Pergamon Head.—Tralles Aphrodite.

BUT while during this age the sculptor's art seems to have languished in its old seats in Greece Proper, the rising kingdoms of Asia Minor and the opulent island-republic Rhodes enjoyed a new and vigorous artistic life. Unlike that of Samothrake, this life does not seem to have been an exotic, but enriched by germs from those older lands, and favored by the altered circumstances, to have yielded its own peculiar fruitage. The numerous Greek cities of Asia Minor now attract attention, on account of their sculptors of renown, and still more the admirable works there discovered. Our knowledge of the art in these different centres is still too inadequate to enable us to distinguish sharply their characteristics; but, as we come to know more, the more do the works of Pergamon and of Rhodes seem to approach each other in spirit; while about this great double star revolve closely the remaining artistic constellations, Tralles, Antiocheia, Kyzicos, Priene, etc.¹¹⁷

Pergamon, although claiming a mythic past, does not appear in history until the time of Alexander's generals, and then only as a single city. The modern traveller, journeying due north from Smyrna, and following up the course of the river, the ancient Caikos, for twenty miles inland, comes upon the site of the city, where is now a flourishing Turkish town called Bergama. Even from the distant sea may be descried, at the base of mountain ranges in the back-

ground, the craggy summit of the ancient acropolis, shining like silver, and which, commanding the surrounding country, once guarded the brilliant capital of a great kingdom. To this impregnable fortress, Alexander's proud general Lysimachos, when hard pressed by rivals, committed a vast treasure, amounting, it is said, to fourteen million dollars, to the keeping of a faithful servant, Philetairos. But Lysimachos, influenced by his young and ambitious wife, having killed his own son and heir, incurred the just indignation of many of his followers. Among these, Philetairos was so outspoken in the condemnation of his master, that the new queen, and with her Lysimachos, turned upon him in bitter enmity. Driven in self-defence to take possession of fortress and treasure, in 283 B.C. he declared himself independent, and thus founded a dynasty which was to become one of the most attractive of the age. Its first member was Eumenes I., nephew and successor to Philetairos, but of whom almost nothing is known. He was succeeded by his greater cousin Attalos I., to whose wise policy and sound statesmanship was virtually due the establishment of the kingdom of Pergamon. He lived at the time when the rival brothers Seleucos Callinicos, and Antiochos, fought over the vast empire left by their father, a large part of which comprised Asia Minor. The wealthy but single-handed Attalos, as recent researches have shown, now allied himself with Seleucos, his powerful neighbor, the rightful king, against Antiochos, in whose service were enlisted those wild barbarians from the far North, the lawless Galatians.¹¹¹⁸ While Seleucos was in a distant part of his realm, Attalos I., about 241 B.C., won signal victories over the joint forces of Antiochos and the Galatians, and became ruler over much of Asia Minor, to which his rights were later disputed by Seleucos Soter, successor to Seleucos Callinicos. History had recorded only the fact of Attalos' struggle against the Galatians; but the additional light obtained from inscriptions found at Pergamon now informs us of this far more significant conflict with allied Greeks and barbarians. Attalos (241 B.C.) took the title of king, and, after ruling until 197 B.C., left his flourishing kingdom to his son Eumenes II., completing what may be called the first period of Pergamon's history.

Eumenes II., who reigned from 197 to 159 B.C., seems to have brought the Pergamon kingdom up to its highest pinnacle of glory. But under his brother and successor, Attalos II., its power began to decline before the growing strength of Rome, which had slowly but surely worked itself into the political affairs of Pergamon. The unfortunate Attalos III., the last ruler of this glorious line, left his kingdom in 131 B.C., by will, to the Romans, who put to death its last scion, Aristonikos, in a Roman prison. From the time of its foundation by the obscure Philetairos, the character of this Pergamon house compared most favorably with that of the other reigning houses of the day. Public and private virtue were marked features of its rulers. Elsewhere we find brother turned against brother, and father, even, against son: here the members of the

ruling family lived in amity. The devotion of the royal sons of Attalos I. to their mother, a woman of humble birth but noble character, expressed itself in a temple dedicated to her at Kyzikos, which, it is recorded, had its columns sculptured — doubtless after the manner of the Ephesos columns — with mythic and other scenes, all illustrating the devotion of sons to mothers; the whole being intended, as Polybios tells us, to express the love which bound her to her sons, and them to each other.¹¹¹⁹ An inscription, just discovered at Pergamon, on a pedestal which occupied the beautiful *piazza* about Athena's temple on the acropolis, makes still more vivid this family affection; the stone letters telling us that Attalos II. put up this statue "to his mother, Queen Apollonis, because of her love to him."¹¹²⁰ In addition, history tells us that no enticements of the Romans could influence Attalos II., even when in their power, to turn against his ruling brother. Moreover, Attalos I. did not rule as a despot, but allowed popular elements in his government of the city; and we may be sure that his successors likewise sought and gained the good opinion of their subjects and allies, to whom, even though Romans, they were always true.¹¹²¹ The Pergamon rulers manifested a great regard for Greece itself; and the intercourse was lively between their rising kingdom and the old seats of culture in Hellas. Attalos I. purchased Ægina, and frequently passed his winters there. He sent royal gifts to Athens, and, when he visited that city, was received with the greatest honors. In Sikyon he raised a heavy mortgage on an Apollo temple, and restored it to free use. Later he made a present of ten talents of silver, and of ten thousand measures of wheat, to the same city. For the former favor, the citizens had erected to him a colossal statue in the market-place, near Apollo's statue; but now they honored him with a golden statue, and, in the spirit of the new time, with a yearly festival, such as in earlier centuries had been held only in honor of the gods. After the disastrous earthquake at Rhodes, in the latter half of the third century, when many rulers sent thither gifts, Attalos did not fall behind in his munificence to the afflicted city. In addition, these princes encouraged the sciences and arts most liberally, being some of them themselves men of science. By one of them, the great library at Pergamon was founded; the academy at Athens received their assistance; and the recent discoveries in the ruins of their capital show how extensive their patronage of the sculptor's art; while tradition tells us of the fondness of their court for painting, and of the immense sums offered for celebrated pictures.¹¹²² These princes were, moreover, Greek rulers of a Greek people; thus forming a happy union which did not exist in the other new empires of the day, and which was, doubtless, most favorable to developing powers which still lay germinant in Greek art.

But the first great stimulus to this artistic patronage seem to have been the signal victories of Attalos I. over Antiochos and his formidable allies, the Galatians. The Galatians of Christian times are well known to us through

the Apostle Paul's epistle; but we are less familiar with the deeds of these their fierce forefathers, who, in the third century B.C., were tempted away from their Northern homes by stories of marvellous treasures piled up in Greek temples. One part of these hordes, pouring down into Macedonia and Hellas, plundering, burning, and massacring wherever they went, even attacked Apollo's sacred shrine at Delphi; another, passing over into Asia Minor, likewise spreading panic before them, levied everywhere heavy tribute which none ventured to refuse except the sturdy Attalos. Pausanias, in describing the deeds of these marauders in Greece, cannot find words strong enough to depict their atrocities.¹¹²³ He tells us how they raged even against the weak of their own number, killing those who could not follow in the flight. Suffice it, that we have some idea of the anguish and distress they caused. To appreciate fully the formidableness of this foe that Attalos had to meet, we must hear what Pausanias relates of their fierce bravery and fearless scorn of death. The only protection they had in battle, he tells us, were their shields; and they had little knowledge of the science of war. Like wild beasts, they attacked the enemy with a vehemence and courage almost unparalleled. Nor did their fury cease so long as breath was in their bodies, even when felled by the battle-axe or sword, or when pierced by arrow or spear. Some even drew the spear out of their wounds, and hurled it at the enemy, or used it in close hand-to-hand fight. The giant stature and power of these barbarians are described also by Diodoros, who makes the picture more vivid, by telling of their tough skin and bristling hair, made still stiffer by the use of a peculiar salve, and by being brushed off from the forehead, down toward the neck, as is seen in the heads of Pan and the satyrs, by which treatment it also became thick, and much resembled horses' manes.¹¹²⁴ A few had the beard entirely shaven; others, and especially those of rank, left only the mustache, but so long and full as to cover the mouth. They carried into battle a bent horn and a large shield. Their favorite adornment, he adds, was the twisted necklace of metal, called the torque, still found in Celtic graves.

With this uncouth but powerful enemy, the armies of Attalos I. and of his son Eumenes II. were frequently forced to contend; and Pliny, in a tantalizingly short sentence in his book on bronze-casters, tells us, that several men represented the battles of Attalos and of Eumenes with the Galatians, mentioning Isigonos, Pyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos.¹¹²⁵ Pyromachos is elsewhere mentioned both as sculptor and painter.¹¹²⁶ He executed a fine statue of Asclepios, which was carried off from its temple in a sacred grove near Pergamon, by Prusias I. of Bithynia, when he invaded the territory of Attalos I. A kneeling Priapos by Pyromachos is also mentioned, but nothing further is recorded of either of these works. Stratonikos was a native of Kyzikos; and it is recorded of him in general, that he executed bronze statues of philosophers, and was considered one of the six most famous chisellers of fine metal.¹¹²⁷

Our knowledge being thus fragmentary of the individual creations of these men, our interest centres the more in their united works in honor of victories over the Galatians, hinted at by Pliny. Happily, upon these, the excavations on Pergamon's summit have at last thrown much light. There the foundations of several pedestals have been unearthed, besides extensive slabs of dark-gray marble, some inscribed, and others bearing the marks of statues. By most accurate measurements, and observation of every architectural detail, R. Bohn has shown that these belong together, and that they made up several monuments of varying shapes.¹¹²⁸ The extent of some of these is such, that there can be no doubt that they bore a stately number of life-size figures.

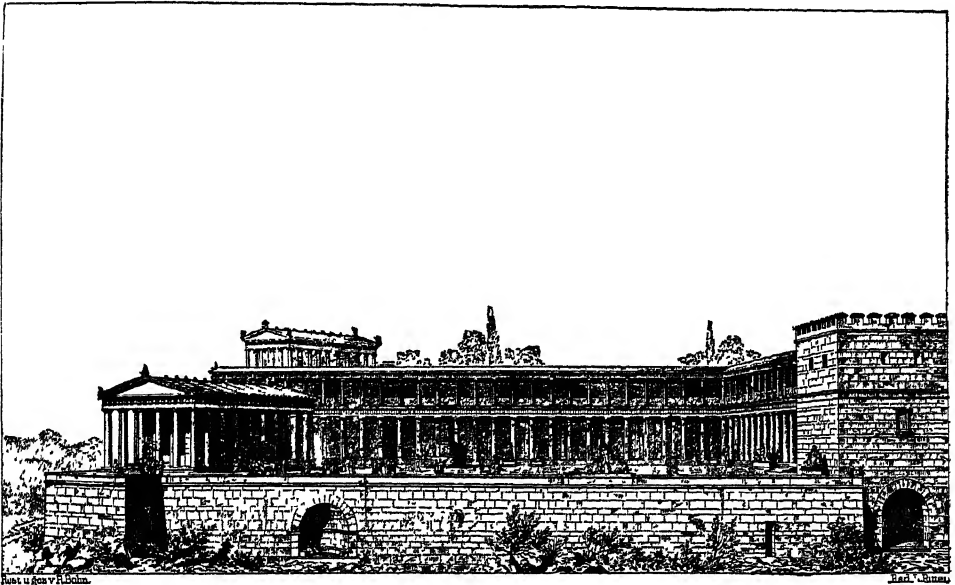


Fig. 230. Restored View of the Temple of Athena Polias; Attalos' Stoa surrounding it, Temple of Augustus in the Distance, and Battle-Monuments in the Foreground.

On the top slabs, traces of the feet of statues are to be seen, of such a character that we may be sure that they were of bronze. Bits of bronze drapery, and fingers, have also been found; but, as might be expected, the valuable metal statues themselves have long since disappeared. Fragmentary names of sculptors are also found; two, doubtless, being of Isigonos and Antigonos mentioned by Pliny; others, Xenocrates, Epigonos, and a "raxiteles," — perhaps a part of Praxiteles, — not named by Pliny, appear in the inscription.¹¹²⁹ In one case, the enemy mentioned are Galatians alone; again, they are Galatians and Antiochos; and still again, Antiochos alone. The gods to whom these thank-offerings were erected are stated to have been Zeus and Athena. Although the name of Attalos I. does not appear on all these battle-monuments, still the shapes of the letters, unlike those in the inscription of his son

Eumenes, make it probable that these works date from Attalos' reign, and commemorate his important victories.¹¹³⁰

How appropriate was this spot for monuments of victory! A little below the summit of the acropolis stood the oldest shrine, a very plain and severely archaic temple to Athena Polias, represented in the restored view of the site (Fig. 230).¹¹³¹ Looking off from the commanding terrace where it stood, now cleared of rubbish and grass, one beholds the glorious view enjoyed by

the worshippers of old. The great altar, directly at the foot of Athena's temple, with its smoke of sacrifice and mighty sculptures, would, indeed, no longer be seen; but the beautiful Carcos valley still stretches out into the plain, and the blue Mediterranean still gleams beyond. Immediately about one, along the front and sides of the terrace, would be seen the now dismantled fragments of Attalos' proud battle-monuments.

Although the bronzes surmounting these shapeless pedestals have perished, there exist marbles executed at Pergamon, which represent Galatians, and are, without doubt, direct products of its historical art. Foremost among these are the so-called Dying Gladiator of the Capitol at Rome, and a less celebrated



Fig. 231. *Galatian Warrior and his Dying Wife. Villa Ludovisi, Rome.*

but equally powerful work, a group in the Villa Ludovisi. These two works, originally together in the possession of Cardinal Ludovisi, according to his inventory in 1633, may have been discovered in laying out the cardinal's new villa in 1622, on the site of the ancient Gardens of Sallust; but of this magnificent trove no record has been kept.¹¹³² That these two works belong together, appears not only from their identity of style: it is also evident from their material, a fine-grained marble from Furni, a small island between Samos and Icaria, on the Asia-Minor coast.¹¹³³

In the Ludovisi group, we see a giant warrior, standing on a long, oval shield, on which has dropped the empty dagger-sheath (Fig. 231). The enemy seems close at hand; and, with wild stride, the despairing warrior for the

moment escapes his power. But, to save himself and wife from future slavery, he has given her a fatal thrust, and now plunges the dagger into his own neck, looking with wild defiance back, up at the victor whom thus he robs of his prize. Were the warrior's right arm properly restored, it would be held higher and more outward, with the thumb up; and thus the despair of this uncouth face, with its bushy eyebrows, shaggy, bristling hair, and opened lips, showing the upper teeth, would come more to view. The whole type of this face is the same as that of the so-called Dying Gladiator of the Capitol, and corresponds to the descriptions of the Galatians of old. In the body, also, there is no mis-



Fig. 232. *The Dying Galatian, falsely called the Dying Gladiator. Capitol Museum, Rome.*

taking the characteristics of that wild people. Here is seen the giant frame, tough, leathery skin, and nudity in battle. Above all, the blind, unbridled passion here evident, enhanced by the figure of the falling wife, the victim of his despair, makes it doubly certain that this is one of the fierce barbarians described by Pausanias, who took the lives of those who could not flee, rather than leave them to captivity. The woman's bushy hair, peculiar features, powerful frame, and fur-edged garments are not like those given in art to Greek women, but such as might be expected among the rude and gigantic people from the North. Her near kinship to the warrior is most evident in the back, where modern restoration has not smoothed over the surface. Were the modern supports of the statue removed, and the left arm more relaxed in death, and were the warrior's face, full of anguish, less concealed by his restored arm, how tremendous would become the tragic power

of the heart-rending group, the pathos of the wife's sinking alone alleviating its painfulness!

Could we place by the side of this group the more famous figure of the Dying Galatian of the Capitol (Figs. 232 and 233), who wears a twisted torque, and is sunken on a long, oval shield, how close would appear in style, subject, and material, the relationship between these works! It was conjectured by Nibby, over sixty years ago, — his view being confirmed by subsequent comparison with passages in Pausanias and Diodoros, — that this dying barbarian could not be a gladiator in the Roman arena. And now we are sure that he must be one of those Galatians who fell before the conquering army of the Pergamon prince.¹¹³⁴ Modern restoration has tampered far less with this statue, than with its brother and sister of the Villa Ludovisi. The restoration

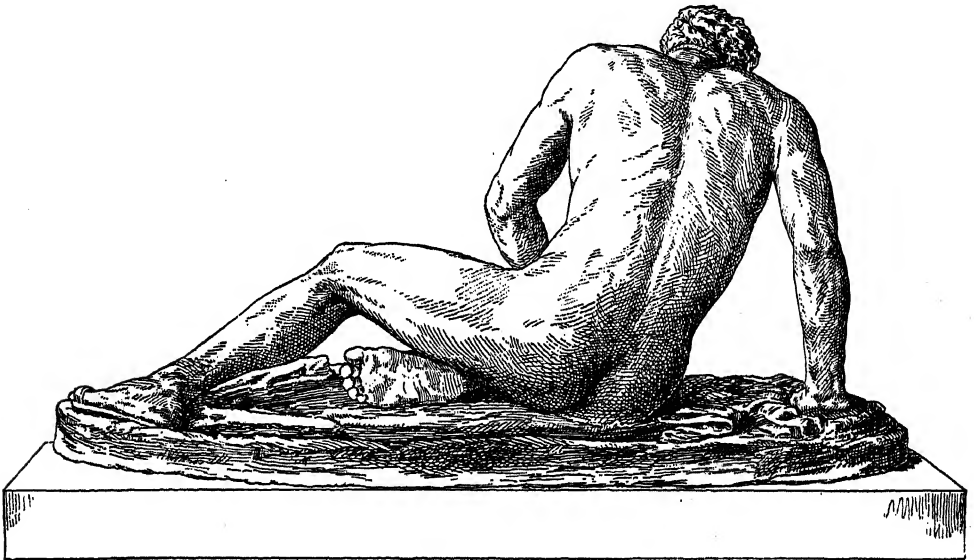


Fig. 233. The Dying Galatian (back view).

of the right arm, which modern pride has attributed to Michel Angelo, is, no doubt, correct, and in keeping with the character of the whole; while, in the restoration of the base, a mouthpiece has been arbitrarily given to both ends of the broken battle-horn, and the sword has been added. In the forms of noblest art, the Pergamon sculptor has, with powerful naturalism, rendered the pronounced physique as well as inner being of the barbarian foe. Not only the general features, giant size, powerful build, and ruggedness of that people, who terrified warlike Romans as well as more peaceable Greeks, are given here, as in its companion figure of the Ludovisi; but we see also the details of firmly knit muscles, leathery skin, broad skull, pointed chin, low-bridged nose, high cheek-bones, overhanging eyebrows, and bristling, thick hair, — peculiarities still met with in some of the peoples of Northern Europe. The treatment

of the skin, with its leathery folds, especially at the waist and navel, appears in strong contrast to the Hermes of Praxiteles, with its soft-flowing skin of the more ideal Hellenic race and time. A difference is expressed even between the texture of skin on the bottom of the foot, hardened by contact with the earth, and that on the rest of the body (Fig. 233). The realism in these works is illustrated by the hair under the right arm of the Ludovisi warrior, and a wart-like protuberance on his cheek. But how powerfully is the innermost being of the barbarian also portrayed in these statues! The fury of wild beasts, we are told, seemed to seize them, as they rushed naked into battle. If they lost the day, they gave way to a frenzy of despair, taking their own lives, as well as those of the wounded and feeble among them. On a relief in Rome, we see a barbarian plunging a dagger into his own breast, under the very hoofs of his victor's horse (Fig. 289). Brennus, the Galatian chieftain, who had dared to storm Apollo's shrine, we are told, took his life when vanquished. So also the Ludovisi Galatian, having slain his wife, now destroys himself. The dying warrior of the Capitol no longer shows defiance. Death has stricken him, doubtless in consequence of a fatal stab received at the enemy's hand. It has often been supposed, that, like the Ludovisi Galatian, he had taken his own life; but his manner of falling, the wound on the side away from the heart, and the fact that some one has withdrawn the weapon from the gash, seem to prove that the fatal deed is the work of a victorious enemy.¹¹³⁵ The sword in this statue is a later addition.

There is something beautiful and truly feminine in the death of the strong Galatian woman, set off in great contrast to the masculine frenzy in the faces and forms of the men. The death-struggle with her is moderated, showing itself in the set eyes, the opened lips, the relaxed arms, and wonderfully expressive pose of the bare feet, from which all life seems gone, but which in their callousness still tell the story of the long and faithful marches, by her husband's side, to the lands of the South.

How different those intensely tragic but realistic monuments from the Greek sculptures preserved to us from earlier days! The Pergamon artist could not, we must believe, have represented otherwise the barbarian who had just overrun his land, and caused him so much distress, and still keep true to his age. Prince and people had seen and fought the dreaded enemy too recently, knew his uncouth face and powerful form too well, and had suffered too much at his hand, to be satisfied with only ideal or symbolical representations of him. The sculptor did not, then, hold on to the older, colorless type of the barbarian, characterizing him by mere conventional accessories of costume or armor while giving him ideal beauty of form and soul, but represented him just as he saw him in nature. The square and rugged forms do not, therefore, impress by symmetry and exquisite grace of proportion, but by fulness and overflow of power; their very divergence from the Greek type bringing out more

strongly such wild force, and showing that a new field of art was now fully opened up, in which national characteristics and historical reminiscences at last occupied the sculptor's noble powers.

In these statues, the peculiar polish of the surface (where untouched), the sharpness in the treatment of the lines of the drapery, and still more of the hair, indicate that they are copies from bronze; and there can be little doubt that the bronzes themselves once decorated Pergamon's summit, and were there copied. That in fact reproductions of its celebrated works were made in Pergamon, is proved by copies of parts of the frieze of the great altar, selections, as it were, from that great work, and found during the excavations. In one case, now to be seen in Berlin, the Zeus of the frieze, taken out of his surroundings, and with slight changes, has been formed into an independent figure. It is most probable that the Ludovisi warrior and Dying Gladiator were thus also singled out from more extensive original compositions. In the Ludovisi group, at least, an approaching conqueror seems implied by the gaze of the warrior directed upwards; and we may well believe, that in the original group, from which the Dying Galatian of the Capitol may have been taken, the foe who has just given the fatal wound was represented. But, even though thus singled out from a larger original in bronze, that these marble works—the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, and the Ludovisi group—were executed as they stand, without other figures, finds confirmation in the shape of their bases.¹¹³⁶ The marvellous freshness in the conception of these works, as well as their bold but finished technique, precludes all possibility of their being copies made by later sculptors in Rome; but whether they were sent, a royal gift, by some Pergamon king, to Rome, or whether they formed a part of the treasure left by will to the Romans, and afterwards carried off by them, are questions which must remain unsolved. On the supposition that they are copies of the very bronzes dedicated to Athena and to Zeus by Attalos I., Bohn, in his restored view of the open square about the temple of Athena Polias (Fig. 230), has put them on the long, narrow pedestal in front, which was discovered in excavating, and the top slabs of which showed signs of the bronze groups once upon them, and described above.

But while Attalos I., in monumental bronze groups, thus expressed thanks to the gods of his own city, he also remembered those of Athens, the ancient seat of Hellenic glory. On the southern wall of the Acropolis he set up votive offerings, figures measuring, according to Pausanias, about three feet in length.¹¹³⁷ Here, the historian says, were represented the historic victory of Marathon over the Persians, and its mythic prototype,—the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons; two other groups, the counterparts of these, as it were, completing the offering. In one, Attalos' victory over the Galatians was represented; and in the other, a speaking mythic parallel, the combat of the gods with the giants. One of the statues of these gods, Dionysos, Plutarch in-

forms us, was precipitated, in a great storm, from the lofty Athenian Acropolis into the theatre below; but the fate of the remainder is recorded by no ancient writer. This fact, that wind could take one of these figures from its place, goes, as has been admirably suggested by Milchhöfer, to prove that Attalos' gift consisted of statues in bronze, and not in marble, which material would with difficulty be torn by the wind from its stony pedestal:¹¹³⁸ on the other hand, it would be comparatively easy for a small, lightly cast bronze figure to become detached, by some terrible gust, from its basis, and precipitated from the height. The rough mass of the long, narrow pedestal was discovered a few years since by Bötticher, on the Acropolis; but no statues were ever found in any part of Athens,—a fact readily accounted for, if they were in bronze, which has always excited the cupidity of man.¹¹³⁹

Several small statues, however, of Asia-Minor marble, detected by the keen eye of Brunn in different museums, so nearly correspond in size and subject to these gifts of Attalos, described by Pausanias, that they may with certainty be considered as their copies.¹¹⁴⁰ Of these small statues, ten are now known to us; namely, three in Venice, four in Naples, and one in each of the collections, the Louvre, the Vatican, and the museum of Aix. Nine of these admirable statues may be traced to their discovery, early in the sixteenth century, in the neighborhood of the baths of Alexander Severus in Rome; proving that they are not, as was conjectured by some, on account of their realistic character, the work of the contemporaries of Michel Angelo. Among them are representatives of each of the four groups mentioned by Pausanias; there being in the number a giant, an Amazon, two Persians, and three Galatians, these latter strikingly akin to the Dying Galatian of the Capitol and to the Ludovisi warrior. These Galatians all have the irregular features, the bristling stiff hair, and peculiar frame, corresponding to the description of Attalos' enemies from the North, while some wear the torque. One, in much the same position as the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, seems, like him, lying in the agony of death; and another, falling backward, is trying to defend himself. Of the giants, those foes of the gods, and mythic prototypes of the Galatians, one is preserved, tremendous even in his fall, but more ideal in shape than Attalos' barbarian foes, although fully human in form and having very shaggy hair. Judging from the peculiar soft head-dress and trousers, two of these figures are the Persians referred to by Pausanias; and one of them shows most admirably (Fig. 234) the sculptor's power in composition. But more touching than all the rest, although equally strong, is an Amazon who lies stretched in death, her arm falling above her head. That these little statues, in Asia-Minor marble, were, moreover, copied from bronze, appears also from the smooth surface and sharp chiselling of folds and hair, as well as from the smallness of their size for figures in marble. All the warriors represented are from the conquered side, and only have their full force by imagining the forms of the victorious enemy with whom they must be conceived face to face.

As each of these little figures is on its own isolated pedestal, and hence cannot have been grouped, Milchhöfer has considered them, like the Dying Galatian of the Capitol, and the Ludovisi group, to be excerpts from some greater work where the victors also appeared.¹¹⁴¹ Both material and style make it clear that they were executed in Pergamon itself, and represent the more controlled, severer



Fig. 234. Fighting Persian, traceable to Attalos' Votive Gift to Athens. Vatican.

art of the earlier period, the latter part of the third century B.C., when Attalos was loaded with honors by Athens, doubtless in thanks for his gifts to her shrine. As yet no companions in style to these works have been found in Pergamon; to explain which fact, it has been conjectured, that such copies from bronze were only executed for exportation to foreign parts. Further excavation may throw light on this question.

But let us not imagine that the ancient sculptor in Pergamon remained con-

tent with these expressions of thanks for victory to the gods. His fancy should take still other flights in ideal creations of great power, absolute beauty, and imposing size, revealed to us in the sculptures of the "Great Altar," recently discovered at Pergamon, and now in the Berlin Museum. Here the tragedy of the ruthless Galatians seems mirrored in the tremendous conflicts of gods with giants.

THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMON.

The recently discovered sculptures from Pergamon, now in the Berlin Museum, come to us like a sudden revelation from the Hellenistic age, and have an importance for this period equal to that of the Parthenon marbles for the Pheidian age. Owing to the absolute certainty as to the originality and date of these works, combined with their great extent and diversity, as well as pristine freshness, unmarred by the restorer's hand, untold light is thrown on this later period, and a certain gauge is offered for its more obscure works.

It was during the rule of Eumenes II., Attalos' great son, lasting well-nigh forty years, from 197 to 159 B.C., that the Pergamon kingdom reached its zenith. Eumenes, having been allied with the Romans after the successful battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C., greatly extended his boundaries to the south-east, and at home encouraged science by the founding of a library rivalling even the collections of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. In addition, this monarch, as Strabo informs us in a tantalizingly short sentence, adorned his capital with magnificent structures; and the recent discovery at Delphi of a decree made by the Aitolians, at the request of Eumenes, has happily thrown further light on the great activity of this prince.¹¹⁴² From this decree it appears, that, after his military successes and the consolidation of his dominion, Eumenes rendered more glorious old rites, and perhaps established new ones, by the celebration of competitive games, and by extensive offerings to Athena Nikephoros, and secured to the sacred precincts (*Temenos*) of Athena at Pergamon the inviolability of asylum. Sending over three ambassadors to sacred Delphi, the monarch craved a recognition of all these pious services; and the decree was accordingly set up, which has now been brought to light. By means of it we obtain a glimpse of the monarch, in the fulness of his power, making signal thank-offerings for his successes.

On the Pergamon Acropolis, which was there popularly believed to be the birthplace of Zeus and of Athena, stood the most sacred buildings. Mention has already been made of the severely archaic temple, situated just below the summit, sacred to Athena Polias (p. 565), and doubtless the oldest shrine. But, with the elevation of the city to the rank of the capital of a great kingdom, such primitive buildings must have become insufficient; and an open-air altar, imposing in size and glorious in significant decorations, was raised at the foot of the ancient shrine, before which the sacrificial smoke should ever rise.

Thus the site of this altar confirms the belief, which has been gathered from inscriptions, that it was built in honor of Zeus, and his victory-bringing daughter, Athena. That it was built during the reign of Eumenes II., and not that of his father, appears from the letters of its inscriptions, which are identical in shape with those found in the inscriptions commemorative of Eumenes' wars, but different from those of earlier and later Pergamon monarchs.¹¹⁴³ How long this great structure withstood the ravages of time, we know not. Pausanias refers cursorily to an altar of great size in Pergamon; and an obscure author, L. Ampelius, of the second century A.D., mentions among the wonders of the world a great altar of marble in Pergamon, forty feet high, with very large figures representing the combats of the giants.¹¹⁴⁴ But, with the centuries, poverty and desolation usurped the place of former grandeur. The Athena temple was in ruins, when upon a part of its substructure was raised the last monument of peace, a Christian church.¹¹⁴⁵ Christians settled in the Acropolis itself, and, to obtain building-material for their huts, tore out whole slabs from the great altar. The fortifications must, in time, have become too extensive for their scanty forces to defend; they broke down the altar, and raised from the material a wall five to six meters thick, running across the summit, thus greatly contracting the line of defence. Although the Mohammedans, when occupying the citadel as a fortress, may have occasionally repaired it, the Christians seem to have been mainly instrumental in the destruction there carried on. No sign of a mosque, or even of a Turkish grave, has been found; but the testimony of Byzantine buildings is confirmed by oral tradition, that Christian families dwelt there, sustaining a precarious existence, till within a few generations. The fact, moreover, that most of the heads of the gods from the frieze are gone, seems to find a natural explanation in the zeal of the early Christians for establishing the new religion on the ruins of the old. Since they regarded the whole Greek Pantheon, represented on the altar, as remnants of a hated idolatry, it is not improbable that they mutilated the statues. A passage in the Revelation of St. John, addressed to the angel of the church at Pergamon, hints at this strong feeling: "I know where thou dwellest, even where Satan's throne is." That this colossal open altar to the heathen gods should be called the throne of Satan himself, styled the dragon or old serpent, is most probable, in view of the size and form of the altar, the presence of so many heathen gods in its sculptures, and, finally, the numerous serpents' coils carved upon its base. Fortunately, many of the sculptures, torn from their places by the Byzantine Christians, were built with soft mortar into the new structures, the principal of which was the long fortification wall, eighteen feet thick. Thus were preserved many of the lines and surfaces in excellent condition. Sadder far has been the fate of much else which could not be used directly as building-material, but was thrown into the kilns, and long since reduced to shapeless lime. Happily, in 1861, Carl Humann, a German

engineer, visited the wasted height of Pergamon, and succeeded in time in staying the work of destruction there going on. The recital of his experiences in carrying out the plan, long made, of excavating these ruins, reads more like fiction than fact.¹¹⁴⁶ In 1871 Humann took from the long Byzantine ramparts two grand fragments of relief, and presented them to the Berlin Museum, where they excited the admiration of every careful observer. In 1878, under Humann and Conze, systematic excavations were commenced, and, since that date, have been carried out with little interruption; the marbles finding safe-keeping in the Berlin Museum.

By the aid of the fragments, and a careful study of the site, Richard Bohn has succeeded in making a most skilful restoration of the whole structure of the great altar (Fig. 235).¹¹⁴⁷ For it, at the foot of the old temple of Athena

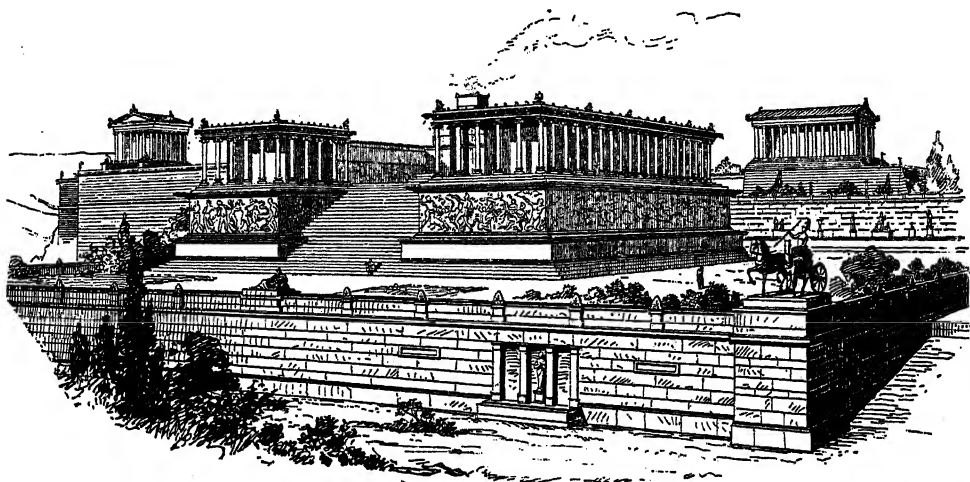


Fig. 235. Restoration of the Great Altar at Pergamon by R. Bohn. Temples of Athena Polias and of Augustus in the Background.

Polias, a vast platform was built (in part upon older structures, the foundations of private houses). Nearly in the centre, was reared the massive substructure, measuring 37.70 by 34.60 meters, and with the short sides facing the east and west. As the Greek temple was always slightly raised, so here, three steps raised this building above the profane level. Encircling its walls, broken only on the south side by a grand stairway, and lining the sides of the stairway itself, ran the great frieze, on which was to be seen the battle of the gods with the giants. Above and below this frieze, which was 144 meters long and 2.30 meters high, ran powerful cornices, combining fineness in detail like that of the Pheidian age, with boldness and grandeur leading over to the massiveness of Roman architecture. The stairway, of which the width cannot, as yet, be determined with certainty, led up to the place of sacrifice,—the altar proper; which, as at the great altar of Olympia, must have grown ever higher

and higher with the continually accumulating sacrificial ashes. Surrounding the space on which stood this burning altar, and surmounting the bold frieze of the giants, seems to have been a colonnade of slender Ionic columns, with a frieze in low relief lining the inner walls. Several small horses have been found, which as parts of *quadrigæ* served as a finish to the roof of the colonnade, where were to be seen, also, between ornamental tiles, Tritons blowing shells, and completing the splendid *ensemble*.¹¹⁴⁸ About the columns and the platform were, doubtless, to be seen also the single statues found, votive gifts, in some instances dating from the erection of the altar, as their style indicates, or else put up as time went on.

Such was the general build of the Great Altar, which, from its commanding site on the lofty Acropolis, must have formed a dominating feature in the landscape, even though occupying lower ground than the older shrine of Athena Polias. But while calculated to impress by its grandeur from afar, the careful finish of its sculptures indicates that it was also intended to awaken the admiration of the ancient worshipper on his near approach. Let us, then, with him, draw near, and imagine ourselves as studying the sculptures on the lofty platform about the altar. The subject of this great frieze, the conflict of gods and giants, is one which had occupied Greek song and art from very early times.¹¹⁴⁹ To the Homeric poets, the giants were a race of the far-off, unknown West, who, in remotest ages, had, by their wantonness, called down the destroying vengeance of the gods. Hesiod described them as lawless spirits born of the Earth (Ge), and who fought the Olympic gods, in armor like that of Greek heroes. It was Pindar, however, who sang more fully the deeds of this wild Earth-born race; and he was followed by many others, who, in time, gave the giants semi-human, semi-dragon shapes. So vehement was the insolent violence of this brood, that the dwelling of the gods itself trembled, and all the powers of Olympus were called upon for its defence. Zeus' lightnings, Apollo's arrows, Hephaistos' fire, and Athena's bravery were required, as well as the strength of the human hero Heracles, to overcome the heaven-daring host. In spite of the power and cunning of their mother Ge, who strove to make harmless the terrible weapons of the gods, the latter were at last triumphant, destroying the evil which had threatened to overturn their beneficent rule. Doubtless, to others besides Pindar, this meant that fruitless was the opposition of any power to the divine rule which wrought order out of chaos. In later poetic myths, very many giants appear, and other like beings are drawn into the battle. Titans, Hecatoncheires, and Typhon fight with them, as well as the presumptuous pair, the Alloidæ, who piled Ossa on woody Pelion to scale the dwelling of the Eternals. Indeed, so imminent was the danger, that even gentle Aphrodite and love-inspiring Eros joined in the tumult. It was such a universal conception of the mythic contest which must have filled the sculptor's mind, as he executed the tremendous frieze around the altar

of Pergamon. Although but sixty of the one hundred and forty-four meters of the relief are preserved, and very many of the forms of gods and goddesses are gone, still, from those that remain, and from the names preserved, inscribed in the cornice above each figure, we obtain an idea how comprehensive was their number. While some are marked by characteristics which can be recognized in mythology, many others are unknown to scholars. Judging from the familiar forms, and the inscribed names, here were to be seen Zeus and Athena, Apollo and Artemis, their mother Leto, Helios, Eos, and Selene, besides the sea-gods Poseidon and Amphitrite, with Okeanos and Triton.



Fig. 236. Zeus fighting Giants. From Great Frieze of Altar at Pergamon. Berlin.

Other figures were Ares the god of war, Enyo, Hephaistos the artist smith-god, Dionysos, with his satyrs, Aphrodite, Dione, Nike, Kybele, Hecate, and Asteria, besides one of the Cabeiroi, the hero Heracles, and a wind-god, perhaps Boreas.

The groups with Zeus (Fig. 236) and Athena (Selections, Plate XV.), the two principal combatants in this furious struggle, seem on the Great Altar to have found a place on the east side, usually, in Greek temples, the front. At the southern extremity of this east side, was a glorious array, probably of the gods of light. Corresponding to them, and encircling the south-west corner, was the more sombre group of the Phrygian Kybele, the great mother of the gods, and her train. Facing the west side of the steps, and winding about the corner, were sea-deities. But to determine exactly in what part of the

extensive surface of the great frieze the remaining groups stood, we must await new combinations of the fragments.¹¹⁵⁰

In the Zeus group (Fig. 236), three giants appear in conflict with the mighty god, while beyond others lie prostrate. There can be no mistaking the god's regal form, about which the robes flow in powerful lines, suitable to the noble chest. With intense motion, the infuriate King of gods hurls with his right hand a thunderbolt, and, with his left, shakes the snaky coils and feathery surface of his terrible *ægis* in the face of one of his foes. The majesty in his powerful frame appears most clearly; and the lordly shape, as contrasted with that of his more ponderous foe, seems to symbolize the superiority of spiritual over brute force. The bearded, shaggy giant, with bestial pointed ears, and tremendous muscular back, rises up on snaky coils, defiant of the Highest himself: with left arm wrapped in a rough skin, he now strives to shield himself from Zeus' thunderbolts, and from the fatal sight of the *ægis*; while the right hand, now gone, was, doubtless, prepared to hurl some missile. Another, a youthful and fully human giant, has already sunk below Zeus' terrible weapon. With the left arm he seeks his wounded shoulder: his head falls back, and soon the young body will be stretched in death. In this form, physicians see the symptoms not of wounds but of convulsions, caused, probably, by the paralyzing sight of the *ægis*. Thus the muscles of the right arm conglobate, the groins contract, and the whole frame seems to writhe in its agony. Here is a terrible realism, which would be revolting were it not tempered by great beauty in the forms. Before the mighty god still another youthful, human-shaped giant has sunk. One of the thunderbolts has already pierced his quivering thigh, and its flames are now gliding upwards over the vainly outstretched arm. This power of evil is also surely doomed, and, in spite of its attractive form, must be crushed. Above, to make the victory more complete, and filling out the space, Zeus' sacred bird, the eagle, fights with the snaky part of the oldest giant, seen coiling up along the background. Eagles frequently recur in the frieze, as the symbols of Zeus, the great leader of this battle. In the fragments preserved, they appear as many as five times, sometimes bringing the thunderbolt, again plunging pitiless talons into the opened jaws of the serpent-foe.¹¹⁵¹ As of yore, these wild birds still sweep in majestic flight over Pergamon's summit. On the eve of the discovery of this very Zeus group, seven in number, eagles wheeled round and round in the blue ether, auguring good fortune to Humann's party, as they ascended the mountain to their task.

In the group in which Zeus' great daughter Athena appears, the final victory seems to be indicated. But, between these two scenes, how wild the surging battle! how fierce the fury of the giants, expressed in all the modulations of fear and hope, of triumph and defeat! Fighting on the west or perhaps on the north side, must have been a nude figure with youthfully slender but

glorious form, and with drapery dragging from the left arm (Selections, Plate XVI.). By the quiver-strap across the chest, he is clearly marked as Apollo. With his left arm he raises his bow, now gone, and with the right draws an arrow from his quiver; his whole pose and swift motion calling to mind the well-known form of the Apollo Belvedere. Scarcely less beautiful than the god himself is the falling giant at his feet,—one of the most attractive and exquisitely executed male figures of the frieze.

Near the south-east corner must have been that group in which a winged giant springs back from the flaming torch of a beautiful female antagonist; while under his feet lies a comrade, having a face calling to mind that of the Dying Galatian of the Capitol. Not far removed from this impressive group must have been still another (Fig. 237.) The names of many of the goddesses remain enigmatical; but here, in a noble figure in vehement action, we recognize Apollo's swift-footed sister Artemis. Her flowing drapery is girt about the waist, so as least to impede her course. With one trimly booted foot planted on a fallen foe, she bends forward, eagerly drawing her bow at her opposing enemy, perhaps the glorious Orion, the beauty of whose form is unhappily but faintly reflected in the engraving.^{1151a} And yet no anger is written in her face, but a serenity becoming a goddess of supernal light. In this form we have almost the only illustration of the Pergamon artist's mode of treating the nude in the female form. All the other goddesses are closely draped; and the sculptor's skill is expended upon accessories of flowing folds, various stuffs, exquisitely finished sandals, luxuriant hair, and fluttering veils. Below the short attire of this huntress-goddess, however, appear her knee and leg, of such wonderful execution as to form one of the brilliant points of these marbles. The youthful carnation and velvety surface is rendered with an astonishing truthfulness, which scarcely finds its parallel in other parts of the frieze. But, besides, let us notice the eagerness of her tremendous dog, and the grandeur of the head of the fallen giant he attacks.

A six-armed, triple-headed figure, with terrible anger in the one visible face, can only be Hecate, in combat, perhaps, with Clytios. Before her every one pauses, astonished at the skill evinced in the combination which, at first glance, presents but one powerful female form, but gradually reveals its weird grouping of arms and heads. The charioteer, in long fluttering robes, cautiously but firmly guiding four excited steeds with one hand, while swinging a flaming torch at the enemy with the other, is, doubtless, Helios, god of day, rising, as it were, out of a rocky cave in the distance. Under his chariot lies a fallen giant, but in its course stands a most threatening form. Startled by the scene, a horse gallops away bearing a goddess, who sits facing the beholder. Possibly it is Eos (Aurora), the herald of coming day; but, as antiquity usually represented this goddess as winged and on foot, or in a chariot, such an interpretation of this riding figure must still be pronounced uncertain. Although

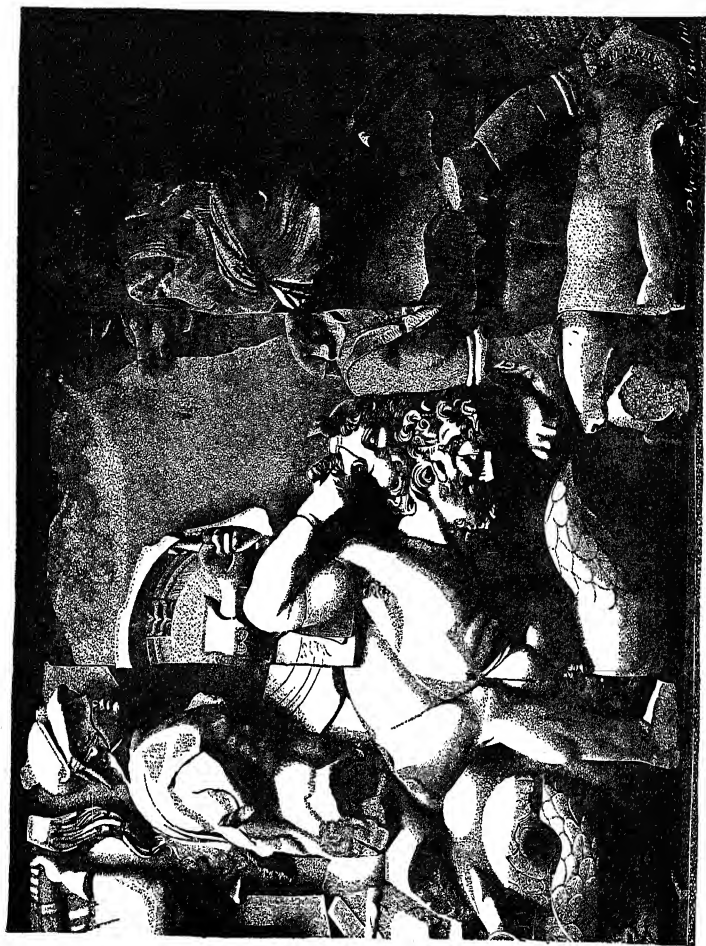


Fig. 237. Artemis Group. From Pergamon. Berlin.



the pose is graceful, the execution of this figure is poor and negligent, as seen in the marks of the borer everywhere left evident; these inferiorities showing that hands of unequal skill worked on this mighty frieze. Directly in advance of Eos rode another figure, probably a goddess, whose back is turned toward the beholder (Plate V.). This has been conjectured to represent Selene. All there is about this quietly riding figure, reminding of the battle that is raging, is the indicated motion of her right arm, and the signs of colossal wings in the background. How exquisite here the rendering of every part! The neck and fragmentary head are luscious in their roundness, calling to mind Giorgione's Venetian beauties. The cut of her garment, gathered into a band at the neck, girded high at the waist, and finished at the arms with a roll, is so accurately rendered, that it seems as though it must reflect a fashion prevailing in the elegant courts of that day. Coming out in strong contrast to the quiet lines of this garment, is the fluttering end of the outer mantle, and the fuzzy surface of the fur serving as a saddle.

Corresponding to these gods of light, was to be seen, on the opposite or southwest corner, Rhea-Kybele, with her companions, among whom we recognize as one of the Cabeiroi a figure with hairy breast, and swinging a hammer; besides are several goddesses with lions. Kybele herself rides a lion, her sacred animal; but, strangely enough, uses a bow and arrows, which are not her attributes elsewhere in ancient art. The three lions in this group seem to correspond to the three dogs accompanying Artemis and her sister goddesses, of the opposite corner of the altar. In this Kybele group we see, however, great inferiority to many other parts.

The deities facing the steps on the west, and about the south corner, are marine in character. Here, doubtless, belongs the name Amphitrite, found on a piece of cornice. One god wears a fish-skin cap, and a goddess sandals apparently of seaweed. A strange sea-centaur fights in their aid, and powerful hippocamps seem to draw their chariots. On the neck of a span of these half-horse, half-fish monsters, a yoke is still to be seen, indicating that they were harnessed, perhaps to Poseidon's chariot. Their scaly bodies and strong fins still splash in the water indicated under them; and their heads thrown violently back, and the piece of fur in front, tell us of the dangerous vicinity of a much-to-be-dreaded giant.

Strangely enough, the full, flowing form of pleasure-loving Dionysos (Selections, Plate XVI.) is also to be seen in this turmoil of battle. With the ivy wreath in his long, curly hair, the *nebris* bound above his thin *chiton*, and fastened to the right arm, and with high shoes on his graceful feet, the god rushes forward in the conflict, his panther at his side. In general build, pose, and drapery, how like the celebrated Diana of Versailles is this full, flowing form of the god of the merry satyrs! His action is, however, much more forcible than that of the Diana, where the vigorous intensity of the subject is lost in being

applied to a figure thus singled out from all of its surroundings. A piece of Dionysos' face, showing long, oval, liquid eyes, and the band across his low forehead, has been identified among the fragments. How different these eyes from those of another fragment of a helmeted head, doubtless belonging to Ares, god of war, in which the deeply set, almost round, eyes seem burning with the war spirit! In these two faces, how well we see the power of the Pergamon sculptors in rendering the opposite characteristics of the gods! Hidden behind Dionysos, we spy two satyrs: the one in front, an amusing parody, in reduced size, of the action of the god; the other carrying a staff, perhaps the *thyrsos*, the upper part of which is lost. Both wear an apron of coarse skin, brought out in contrast to the god's finely woven, rich *chiton*, as it blows back against them. Enough is left of the face of the farther satyr to show his rustic hair, and the two goat-like appendages to his chin. Although intended for boys, these satyrs, like Laocoön's sons, are only diminutive men. The forms of these characteristic attendants of the god here fill up meaningly the space beyond him, and one of the corners of the altar where this group stood.

One goddess, in richest drapery, and drawing the shield away from the face of her fallen foe, hurls at him a snake-bound vase with such tremendous action, that it forms a strong contrast to her beautiful, passionless face, about which flies a veil of fine texture (Fig. 238). Her luxurious form and bracelet-clasped arms might point her out as Aphrodite, but her mysterious vase is unknown among the symbols of that goddess.¹¹⁵² She may perhaps be an Erinyes, transformed by this later age into a form of beauty. About her fight giants in full armor, their manly cuirassed forms setting off wonderfully her draped and feminine grace. What part of the frieze this group occupied, it is impossible to say; and the same uncertainty rests about another group, probably representing Heracles wrestling with a giant (Selections, Plate XVI.). On the hero's tremendous chest are knotted the paws of a lion's skin, its jaws once doubtless covering his head. About his waist a garment is tightly wound, showing that he has prepared for an arduous fight. His formidable enemy, a monster carrying on snaky coils a human body, has a colossal lion's head, which is now held in Heracles' crushing embrace. In vain do the arms, ending in lion's claws, clutch the hero's skin. This wild combination may symbolize Leon, one of the many foes with whom Heracles had to contend. This very group may be seen copied on sarcophagi of later times, and has also striking resemblance to a coin of the ruler Lykeios.¹¹⁵³ The names of the giants were carved in smaller letters on the cornice below the frieze. Of these only five are preserved complete,—Chthonophylos, Erysichthon, Ochthaios, Obrimos, and Oudaios. None of them are properly giants, although the latter is known to have been akin to them from his earth-born nature. Of other names, eleven fragments have been found.

The fancy seems unlimited, which has given these monsters form. Some-

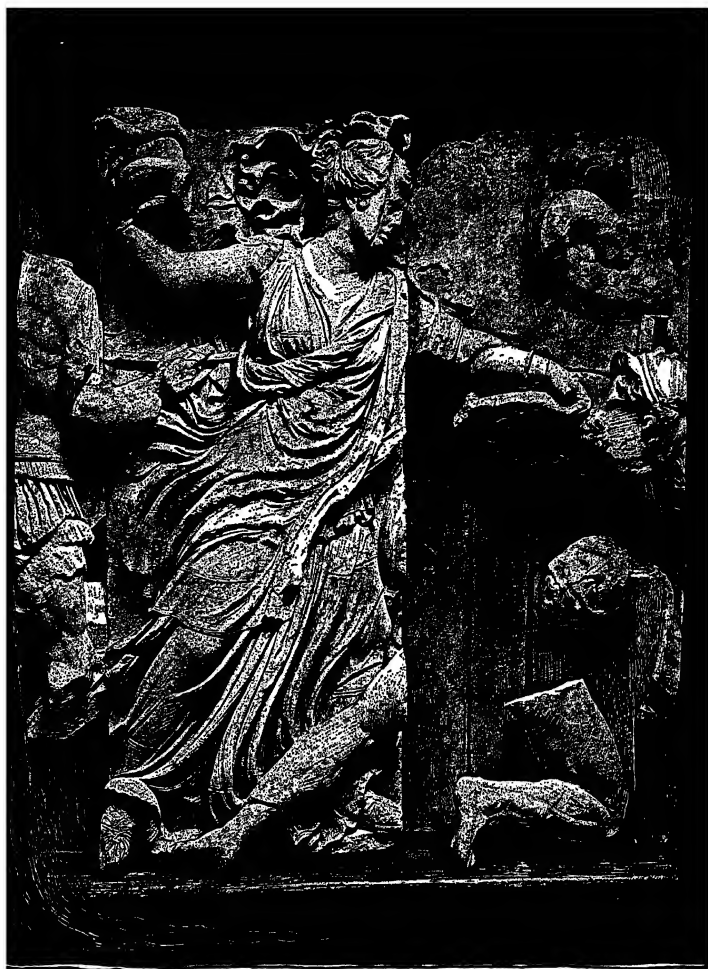


Fig. 238, Veiled Goddess hurling Snake-bound Vase at the Enemy. From Pergamon. Berlin

times they are so noble and beautiful, that we can hardly believe them to be enemies of the gods; and, again, they are so bestial, that such forms, we feel, merit only annihilation. In the older poetry, sculpture, and vase-paintings of the Greeks, we find the giants always represented simply as mortals, fully armed. Thus, they appear in the Megara treasury pediment at Olympia (p. 211), dating from the sixth century; and thus, also, even down to the metopes of the Parthenon. In vase-paintings of the fourth century, however, these giants have thrown off the armor, and become wild in appearance, and have shaggy disordered hair, and use for weapons rocks and tree-trunks. By the third century, on certain terra-cottas, these enemies of Athena are represented with a human body on snaky coils; but, as far as is known, they are thus represented in sculpture for the first time in these reliefs from Pergamon. There is, therefore, great interest attaching to the question, as to the extent of the originality of the Pergamon sculptor, in conceiving the forms of these giants. Many are the variations upon the serpent type. In one case a human form rests on serpent's coils, ending in venomous heads, while the face is in keeping with the beastly neck of an ox, and supplied with the ears of that animal. Wings, powerful, and suitable for spirits of darkness, make swifter the motions of many others. One tremendous human form, springing back from the flaming torch of a beautiful female antagonist, startling us by his wildness, suggests the Beelzebub of Miltonic fancy. His huge wings are of mingled finny and feathery texture; about his bearded face, a like finny growth, pointed ears, and horns show themselves. The unbroken force of this figure is in strong contrast to the pathos of that youthful giant behind him, who has fallen. In this latter figure, the wildly beautiful and tangled hair alone would speak of hopeless yielding; and his face haunts us with its expression of suffering. Feebly, but in vain, the left hand seeks the arrow which has pierced the manly chest. Death is already written on his brow, furrowed now like that of age. One stage farther in this struggle shows us another giant lying prone, his shaggy robe of skin loosely covering his back, and his head resting on the powerful arm which once defied the gods. A tragedy seems written in this hair and arm, the wild struggle, the discomfiture, the despair, and, at last, the stillness of death. A strong contrast to these fallen forms is furnished by those of the giants still contending, having perfect human shapes and in full armor. So vigorous is their warfare, that we might well tremble for their opponents, did not many of their number already fallen predict the triumph of the gods.

So hopeless is the feeling of wild disorder received from these groups, especially in their present shattered state, that we ask, Is there here any of that symmetry so fundamental to earlier Greek composition, or any of that adaptation to the architecture which we have had reason so greatly to admire? Going back to the Æginetans, we remember there the utter subjection to the

architecture, and the monotonous correspondence of part to part. In the Parthenon, likewise, this balance, although most gracefully veiled, was evident, and harmony with the architecture was supreme. But out of this entanglement of snakes' coils, human bodies, triumphant gods, and their attendant lions, dogs, winged horses, and eagles, can we bring order? Are not all the barriers and rules of tradition hopelessly lost in this confusion? When the projected reconstruction of the whole altar has been carried out, and the sculptures have been raised again to a position corresponding to that they originally held, we shall be better able to pass judgment on their excellences as well as defects of composition. But, even now, close observation of the chaotic fragments discovers a harmony directing the whole, and a delightful contrast of detail. Thus the Zeus and Athena groups, which, as the discovery of very much-injured fragments shows, stood side by side, correspond one to the other in the number of figures; and the tremendous sweep of Zeus to the left seems set off against the swaying of Athena to the right. The fragments left from both sides of the grand stairway show how skilfully the sculptors used this irregular space, bringing its carvings into harmony with the rest of the frieze. Parts of all the figures on the left side of the stairway, from the corner of the frieze at the bottom to the very top, are preserved. To the worshipper, ascending the stairs, would have been visible here the struggling giants, hard pressed from below by a group of gods and goddesses, and from above by one of Zeus' powerful eagles; assuring him of the ultimate triumph of the heavenly powers. Professor Brunn's constructive mind has discovered the fact, that the composition was so planned, that under each slender column of the colonnade there stood a figure occupying the whole height of the frieze, while between swayed the broken lines of bending, kneeling, or fallen combatants. Thus a certain impression of giving support and of having stability must have been made by the sculptures, beautifully carrying out their architectural idea, that of a mighty pedestal bearing up the altar and its colonnade. With the powerful cornices above and below, bounding in these waves of sculpture, how harmonious must have been the effect of the whole!

There is little in these sculptures of the Great Altar that calls directly to mind motives familiar to us from earlier art. While, doubtless, the ideals of the great gods, and perhaps many of those of the minor ones, had been developed before, here they seem to have received a more impetuous and vehement character. Thus, for instance, the Athena and the Artemis are clearly variations on an earlier type, familiar to us from coins and reliefs, but re-created, as it were, in the spirit of this time. In considering the artistic treatment here, where in the range of ancient art has the sculptor been so prodigal or successful in the representation of the back of the human form? where has he attempted such variety of attitudes, and displayed such weird fancy in combining and in grouping? He seems to have both the human



Fig. 239. Plunging Horses. From Pergamon. Berlin.

and animal forms, with all their possibilities of plastic representation, as perfectly at his command as the man of letters has the alphabet.

The horse, so worthily represented in the Parthenon marbles, is here no less powerful in his framework, and equally far removed from any thing ordinary or prosaic. Look but at those two powerful steeds plunging high over a fallen giant (Fig. 239). Across their proud necks lies a part of the harness, and above it a piece of a shield borne by the charioteer, who must have stretched eagerly forward, and been clad in long, fluttering garments. Place alongside of these the horses of the Parthenon frieze, and, making all allowance for the difference in the height of the relief, mark the glorious similarity in conception. But on noticing in the Pergamon fragment the subtle lines of the skin, and the excited motion of the hair, although it may sound heretical, we ask, does not this Pergamon span appeal to us moderns at least as much as do the severer and more schematic Parthenon steeds?

We have, moreover, in this frieze of the Great Altar, a very different type of Pergamon art from that represented in the Dying Galatian and kindred statues of the third century; against

the pronounced individuality of which, these sculptures show a re-action. The forms and features of these gods, goddesses, and giants have no such portrait-

like realism, but, with all their variety and shades of feeling, follow several general types. Among the giants are grand bearded faces, so similar to the traditional type of Zeus, that we might readily believe them akin, were it not for their look of passionate suffering and rage, so foreign to the benignant face of the King of Olympus. The goddesses, with the exception of Hecate, seem one great sisterhood. That, moreover, the fundamental type of their faces is different from that of the previous centuries, but equally beautiful, appears in that nameless goddess hurling a vase at her fallen enemy (Fig. 238). We are first taken captive by the grace and proud elegance of her whole appearance. Concentrating our attention upon the particulars of her face, having much of the bewitching elegance of the Veronesque type in Venetian painting, we find that it has a short oval, pointed toward the chin, and quite unlike the full round ovals of the Parthenon frieze, or the long, narrow ones of the gentle mourners on the tombstones of the age of Praxiteles. It is equally unlike the beautiful Demeter of Cnidos, but shows similarity in form to the face of the Venus of Melos. Thus the forehead is much lower than in the Demeter, and more pointed than in the heads of the Parthenon maidens; the lips are fuller, the small, proud mouth more open, and the *coiffure* much more elaborate. The hair rolls off more boldly from the forehead, the roots showing in fine contrast to the smooth skin. In front of the ear nestle two beauty-curles, likewise unknown in the figures of adults of earlier times, as shown by dated monuments, although appearing on children's heads.

But while such grand ideal types are the framework on which these later sculptors build, yet how riotously does their fancy play with naturalistic detail! Above the deep undertone of ideal form, they sound a myriad of lighter, more fleeting notes, all caught from nature, and blended into one harmonious whole. In these idealized forms, which are on a scale unknown to us before in plastic art, the hair, eyebrows, ever-changing folds of skin, and texture of garments or fur, are astonishingly real and lifelike. The silken garments of one torch-bearing goddess, the thin *chiton* of another, the leathery *nebris* worn by Dionysos, the wonderful surface of Athena's robes, whether flying or lying in horizontal folds, show the master's ease in imitating stuffs. In the mantles of many of the gods, how speakingly are rendered, not only the border and its narrow hem, but also the seams uniting the long breadths at their selvage edge! These long seams, running across the robes, might easily be mistaken for folds produced by the press, were it not for their exact resemblance to the edge of the garment, which would not have been thus folded. Compared with the drapery of the Parthenon, we realize that here the garments are no longer simply a reflex of the form, intended to enhance its beauty, but have such importance attached to them, as to receive a value, indeed secondary to, but yet independent of, the figure itself. The careful workmanship of many of the very minor features in these marbles is equally striking. We need but

glance at the shoes and sandals of the goddesses, to see this marvellous care well illustrated (Fig. 237). The fluffy hair, the deeply wrought folds, the scaly serpents' coils, or the downy plumage of the eagles, all call out our astonishment; but this super-elegance and luxury, prevailing throughout the details, is foreign to the spirit of earlier times. No secret of technique seems to have been unknown to the masters of the frieze, who have so boldly carved out the relief that the whole fore-arm may readily be plunged into the cavernous depths of the thoroughly preserved folds. The choice of the marble even shows their wisdom, its easy manipulation being highly praised by the Italian sculptors engaged in re-adjusting the sundered fragments. The slabs of the great frieze seem to have been affixed to the building before they were carved; and there, away from the comfortable studio, the intricate piecing of the marble was done, and the chisel and borer applied to the rude blocks. Moreover, if this great frieze was executed like the smaller Telephos frieze from the same altar, then the masters, unlike those of later Roman times and moderns, used no convenient points (*puntelli*) for measurement, but carved directly into the obdurate marble, with the freedom that a painter has in the use of the supple brush.¹¹⁵⁴ May not this freedom of hand, combined with the subtle influence of painting, developed at this time to highest perfection, have conspired to produce in composition and detail the pictorial effect of these marbles? This pictorial character appears not only in oft-repeated and tremendous foreshortening, as in the right leg of Athena's fallen enemy, and in the left arm of Zeus' bolt-stricken foe, but also in the exact counterfeiting of nature in fur, skin, hair, etc., which we have been noticing. Going back to the Parthenon pedimental marbles, we see in their easier composition, exquisite drapery, and gently varied surface of skin, the beginnings of this pictorial treatment thrown over the statuesque forms like a transfiguring veil. Here, however, at the end of Greek history, we see the utmost that pictorial rendering could attain, without surrendering altogether the statuesque, and making sculpture a painting in stone. This frieze is, however, far from being a picture, in the sense that the Telephos frieze is of the same altar, as well as all modern relief; the latter well illustrated by Ghiberti's doors of the Baptistery in Florence. In keeping with the character of true sculptural relief, we see in this Pergamon frieze, that one surface plane is always kept emphatic, and never broken up and made unquiet by attempts at vistas of far-reaching perspective, and accessories of landscape, and the like.

In strong contrast to the work of older days, the Pergamon reliefs leave nothing for the imagination to supply. We read the whole story as we stand before them, astonished at the skill which shows the sculptor's power strained to the utmost. He plays, as it were, his last card, and suggests nothing more which might still be expressed. As one critic has well said, "*Non si lasciano a pensare.*" The ideas to which the old masters had given depth

are here all spread out before us. And not the simple poses and gestures of olden times, but most complicated and tortuous ones, appear. The sculptor has thrown the spirit of his excited and unreserved age into his marble. With all the force of an uncontrolled and tumultuous age, he shows us the immortals in fiercest conflict with their enemies. And in that group where Athena herself, the revered goddess of Pergamon's summit, appears, this tragic power finds its culmination (Selections, Plate XV.). The arms of fallen giants appear at each end of the composition. Athena's powerful but beautiful enemy, with four mighty wings, now sinks like a wounded bird at her feet. Her sacred serpent binds its coils about the strong arm and leg, and buries its fangs in the chest. In vain the giant raises his right hand to free himself: it lies helpless on the goddess's arm; his head falls back, his eyes roll, his mouth opens, all his features showing the sure approach of death. And now up from the depths arises the agonized mother of the giants, with dishevelled hair, her name inscribed beside her (Ge). With one arm thrown up, and eyes raised imploringly to Athena, she pleads for her unhappy children, thus adding strains of soul-anguish to the physical pain expressed by her fallen son. But in vain, for the power of the goddess with lightning speed has done its work. And yet how ethereal this victorious daughter of Zeus! Although clad in armor, and carrying a heavy shield, Athena, in whom is embodied the triumph of all the gods, floats by with the lightness of a bird. And now, as she approaches, Nike, the slender goddess of victory, flies to greet her with the crowning wreath.

The Laocoön of the Vatican has some features of strong resemblance to this dying giant of the Athena group.¹¹⁵⁵ But, in the Laocoön, we see alone the writhings and contortions of physical suffering, and become so distressed and repelled by the sight, that the eye involuntarily wanders away seeking relief. In this Pergamon group, on the contrary, although physical pain is expressed, yet, like discords in music, it seems introduced only to make more powerful the harmonies in this great symphony. We are fascinated by the beauty of the giant, moved by the anguish of his mother, and taken altogether captive by Athena's noble form, and Nike's swift grace, as well as by the glorious thoughts in the whole, expressing the idea of the triumph of light over darkness, of right over wrong. Could we see the varied forms of this frieze raised once more on the wall, no doubt the writhing, struggling motions of the giants, set off against the upright action of the gods, and intermingled with bold, plunging horses and sea-monsters, would produce an even more powerful impression than that now received from the sundered groups and broken fragments in the dark halls of the museum. Moreover, the powerful cornices above and below, which originally bounded the frieze with their unswerving lines and regular shadows, would give solidity and repose to this surging sea of sculpture.

These sculptures of Pergamon, with their rich variety in composition, and perfect mastery of technique, seem the result of combined traditions of the past, and not the inspiration of any single man or school. Especially does this appear when we remember, that, through all antiquity, art drew upon its hoarded treasures, and that, during this Hellenistic age, artists from various parts moved hither and thither as fields opened for their activity. From what sources the Pergamon sculptors received their suggestions, — whether from monumental sculptures of the past, from terra-cottas, or from paintings, — are questions naturally arising. Much there is which seems to suggest the effects which painting seeks to catch from nature. The gliding serpents with their scales, the rich plumage, the finish of fins, and seaweed, are some of the details in which, with reason, has been traced the influence of great paintings of the immediately preceding centuries, which with regard to naturalistic detail, and effects of light and shade, must have been far different from the sterner works of the older time represented by Polygnotos. How great was the esteem for the paintings of men like Zeuxis, Parrhasios, and Apelles, is hinted to us in general terms; while comparison and fresh discovery are making it continually clearer, that they furnished many types which were carried over most skilfully by the sculptors into plastic art.¹¹⁵⁶ Other types came, doubtless, from still other sources, among them being many of the figures of deities. Thus the Artemis, Dionysos, and Athena, it is most probable, were single conceptions developed in sculpture at an earlier age, but here taken, and skilfully worked into the pulsating, dramatic composition. The type of this Ge appears on vases of the fourth century; and the Athena and Nike call to mind the group supposed to be traceable to Pheidias' representation of the birth of Athena, in the east pediment of the Parthenon (p. 350). But, even if following certain traditional types, how free the sculptor's use of them here, and how masterly his grouping!

We long to know who the masters were who modestly added their names in very small letters below those of the giants in the lower cornice. Unfortunately, only fragments of these have been preserved; but one "necrato" may, perhaps, throw partial light on this subject. It is probably a part of a genitive of Menecrates, the name of a Rhodian master mentioned by Pliny as having adopted Apollonios and Tauriscos from Tralles, and doubtless also their teacher.¹¹⁵⁷ These men executed the well-known group, the Farnese Bull, now in the Naples Museum; and it is probable, that, on the Pergamon frieze, they inscribed themselves as sons of Menecrates. On the supposition, therefore, that among the masters of this great frieze were Apollonios and Tauriscos (of whom we know, besides, that the latter was a painter), then Tralles, Rhodes, and Pergamon are brought into very close relationship, showing us an art which, while heir to rich traditions, was working out its peculiar character and coloring.

The SMALL FRIEZE of the Pergamon altar, 1.57 meters high, adorned the inner wall of the colonnade, and was widely different in character from the great frieze of the giants.¹¹⁵⁸ Three different slabs are given in Selections, Plate XVII. Its reliefs are low, and represent, not tremendous conflicts, but idyllic scenes, among which the story of Telephos, the mythic ancestor of Pergamon, seems very prominent. According to legend, Auge, priestess of Athena, at Tegea in Arcadia, bore Telephos by Heracles; and, fearing her father's anger, she hid her babe in the shrine of the virgin-goddess, who, in consequence, sent pestilence into the land. The child was then removed to the woods of Argos, where, according to the usual myth, he was nourished by a deer, until found by his father Heracles, who now became his protector. According to one story, Auge was punished for her sin by being thrown into the sea, but was cast upon the coast of Mysia, where she became the wife of its ruler Teuthras. In time Telephos also came to Mysia, where he did deeds as great as those of his father, and became Teuthras' successor. When the Greeks, in going against Troy, by mistake landed in his realm, Telephos repulsed them, but was wounded by Achilles. The oracle declared that by Achilles' lance alone could he be healed. Now going among the Greeks in disguise, he seized the young Orestes, and fled to the altar. There he threatened to slay the child, unless he were given rust from Achilles' lance to heal his wound. One of the reliefs of this small frieze (Selections, Plate XVII.) shows us, in the midst of a rocky landscape, Heracles, in form and attitude the very prototype of the colossal Farnese Heracles at Naples. He stands under the broad, spreading branches of a leafy tree, and watches his child, the babe Telephos, here playing with the udder of a feline nurse. On other slabs, ships appear; in one instance being unloaded, and still again being hammered together. The dejected figure of a draped female, sitting by, indicates that the ship is to bear Auge to her destruction. On another (Selections, Plate XVII.) we see a part of a wedding scene; referring, doubtless, to Auge's nuptials with Teuthras. Here a beautiful female, with more voluptuous form than any in the great frieze, bears the hymeneal torches. In one instance Telephos appears, holding the babe Orestes on the altar; in others, festive meals in honor of the dead seem to be held; while again, as in the middle group (Selections, Plate XVII.), beautiful throngs join in dense processions, showing us where the Romans found their patterns for similar scenes. In other slabs, we see figures sitting in quiet converse. How different these chatty sculptures, with their landscape back and fore grounds, their busy workmen and suckling babes, from the reliefs of older times, and from the giant frieze! They seem to be pictures translated bodily into marble. The sculptor here renders his scenes with a disregard for the limits of his material, not met with hitherto in Greek art, but which in the coming Græco-Roman age should become prevalent. Although the composition is thus strange, and

the sculptures are untrue to the laws inherent in marble, still it is an interesting story that is told, and the beautiful figures bear close inspection; unfortunately, nearly all the heads have been at some time knocked away.

Many statues found at Pergamon, probably, once occupied the colonnade and platform directly about the place of sacrifice. Among these are four finely executed seated statues of stately women, and nine standing ones, each a treasure in itself, and in style and treatment companions to the great frieze of the altar. The graceful variety in their drapery offers fine material for the study of ancient costumes. The head of one alone has been preserved; and, even though fragmentary, the statue, with its gentle movement and genuine feminine grace, captivates the eye.¹¹⁵⁹ Some of these figures, doubtless, represent priestesses of Athena, as inscriptions found on the spot indicate; others are unmistakably statues of gods and goddesses, such being the figure of Zeus Ammon with his ram's-horns. Placed in the Berlin Museum alongside of a figure of Antinous, this statue admirably illustrates the wide difference between the fresh treatment of drapery and skin in even these late Greek works, and the cold academic mannerism which prevailed in the still later age of Roman dominion.

Fragments of other buildings, besides those already alluded to, have been preserved to us at Pergamon. These were in part erected by Attalos II., Eumenes II.'s brother and successor, as thank-offerings to the gods for victory. Attalos' *stoa* surrounded three sides of the *piazza* of the Athena Polias temple (Fig. 230), and its balustrade was decorated with all the paraphernalia of battle. We see how, in this age verging towards decline, the ability of the Greek sculptor came to be expended on making attractive minor features, even when representing such trophies of war. In the strongly pronounced perspectives and naturalistic treatment of details, even to the links of chain armor and the like, we see here also indicated the influence of painting. Indeed, such details begin to absorb the sculptor's thought, often, to a wearisome extent; but their historical importance for art is enhanced by the fact that this display of trophies in marble was the foundation for the prevalent taste, in Roman times, for the representation of similar subjects.

Several small statues of very excellent and finished workmanship, discovered in the ruins of this curious *stoa*, and proved by Milchhöfer to represent the freeing of Prometheus, evince most clearly the predominating influence of painting over sculpture during the second period of Pergamon's power (Fig. 240).¹¹⁶⁰ Here is a full picture in stone, possibly inspired by Parrhasios' celebrated painting of Prometheus. On it Prometheus, with arms outstretched and fastened to the rock behind him, writhes in agony from the wounds given by the eagle, which rested on his right thigh, but is now gone. Heracles approaches, with bow in hand, to free the hero; while the god of the mountain, Caucasos, reclines below, by which is located the scene of Prometheus' suffering and deliverance. This picture in stone has its parallel in

paintings preserved to us, and was probably but one of a series which may have adorned some part of the *stoa*, fragments of other small statues having also been found among its ruins.

In Pergamon itself, copies of the great masterpieces in sculpture were made, as appears from the discovery of such reproductions, which are, however, in no case slavish imitations. Thus, the Zeus of the great frieze was turned, by the ancient copyist, into a full statue; but has sacrificed much of the grandeur of the original, by being sundered from its surroundings. In one small relief, the Athena and Zeus groups of the great frieze seem to be crowded into a single composition. Reproductions of the masterpieces of the Pheidian age seem likewise to have been made at Pergamon, an imposing rendering of the Athena Parthenos having been discovered. The most of the copies seem, however, to belong to a later day, when the fresh, vigorous art of Eumenes II.'s time was being supplanted by mannerism.

But not only in Pergamon itself have echoes of its great works been found. Parts of a temple-frieze from Priene, in Asia Minor, which are now in the British Museum, seem also inspired by the Great Pergamon Altar. Their bold and theatrical style, the high girding of the female forms, and the surface-folds, indicate, as has been shown by Furtwängler, that these marbles belong to the age of the Pergamon altar, and not to the fourth century B.C., when such peculiarities did not prevail.¹¹⁶¹ The temple at Priene, built in Alexander's time, received, we know, in the second century B.C., a new sacred colossal statue, doubtless an acrolith, of which parts of hands and feet are now in the British Museum. It is evident, that, for the erection of this new statue, changes had to be made in the building; and it is probable that this frieze was then added, an echo of the battle of the giants of the Great Pergamon Altar.

The influence of Pergamon was felt also in lands still more remote, as shown by other reproductions, coming originally from Italy. In the Wilton House collection, England, exists a group, No. 5, which is clearly a copy of one of the giants of the great frieze, clasping a god or hero about the waist. That head, generally known as the Dying Alexander, is but a variation on the beardless dying giants of this frieze. In a relief in the Vatican, Zeus' giant foe is copied almost exactly, with the exception of the advanced arm, which is made insipidly to hurl a stone, instead of being wrapped defensively in its fur.

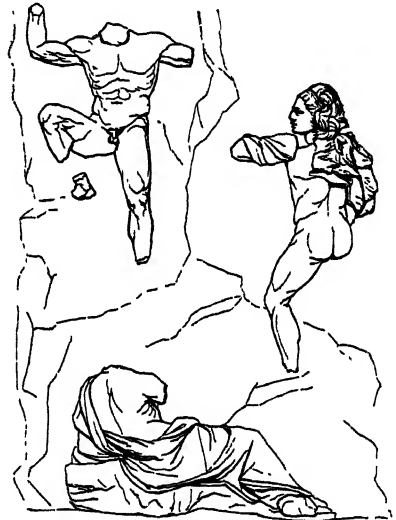


Fig. 240. Statuettes from Pergamon. *Heraclēs freeing Prometheus.* Berlin.

But the extensive influence of Pergamon art on later times will become most evident in considering the period of Graeco-Roman sculpture.

The great artistic activity at Pergamon seems to have been confined to the time of Pergamon's kings. Scarcely thirty years after Eumenes, aided by the Romans, had extended his dominion far into the heart of Asia Minor, Pergamon passed into the hands of Rome, and sculpture bears witness to the rapid decline under the new rule. An occasional statue was erected to a Roman official. To Augustus was built a temple on the summit of the Acropolis, and a colossal statue was erected to that emperor on the square in front of Athena's temple; but no traces of sculptural decoration have been found. After Hadrian, even the erection of honorary statues to members of the royal family seems to have ceased, and artistic life was extinct,—the great mission of Pergamon's art for the ancient world having been fulfilled.

Continuing our consideration of sculpture in Asia Minor, Tralles, near Ephesos, first attracts attention. From this city came the two brothers who, probably, were engaged on the great frieze of Pergamon, and executed the well-known group called the Farnese Bull, now at Naples (Fig. 241). Pliny reports, that, "among the works owned by Asinius Pollio, were Zethos, Amphion, Dirke, and the bull and the rope, all carved out of one block by Apollonios and Tauriscos of Tralles, and which was brought from Rhodes to Rome."¹¹⁶² During the pontificate of Paul III., this group, in a sadly ruined condition, was discovered near the Baths of Caracalla, and was afterwards built up, and the missing parts restored.¹¹⁶³ When set up in 1789, in the Villa Reale, at Naples, it was scraped and filed to blend the old parts with the new; and much of its former freshness was thus destroyed.

Antiope, daughter of Nicteus, king of Thebes, being with child by Zeus, fled from her father's indignation, and, on Mount Kithairon, gave birth to Zethos and Amphion, whom she left in charge of a shepherd, while she took refuge with Epopeus, king of Sikyon. In course of time, however, Antiope was carried off as a slave to Dirke, wife of Lycos, but was treated so cruelly by her, that she fled again, and came to Kithairon. Here her sons had now grown to be stalwart young shepherds. As fate decreed, the Queen Dirke also now came to Kithairon, to celebrate a great Bacchic festival. In the midst of the festivities she recognized her former slave, and ordered her subjects, Zethos and Amphion, to bind their unknown mother to the horns of a bull, and let the beast loose. As, however, they were about to execute her terrible commission, it was made known to them, probably by the shepherd, that Antiope was their own mother. The cruel Dirke was now seized by the enraged youths, and given up to the beast, who dragged her through the wild woods and over the rocks of Kithairon, until in time, as the myth runs, she was turned to a mountain-spring, which always bore her name.

The moment chosen in the marble group is that in which the sons bind Dirke to the bull. Amphion, with his lyre by his side, holds the wildly springing brute, while Zethos puts the rope about his head.¹¹⁶⁴ At their feet lies Dirke, one hand placed pleadingly upon Amphion's leg. All the upper part of her form is restored; and it is not probable that she was thus loosely added to the scene, from which we see she might readily escape. According to the

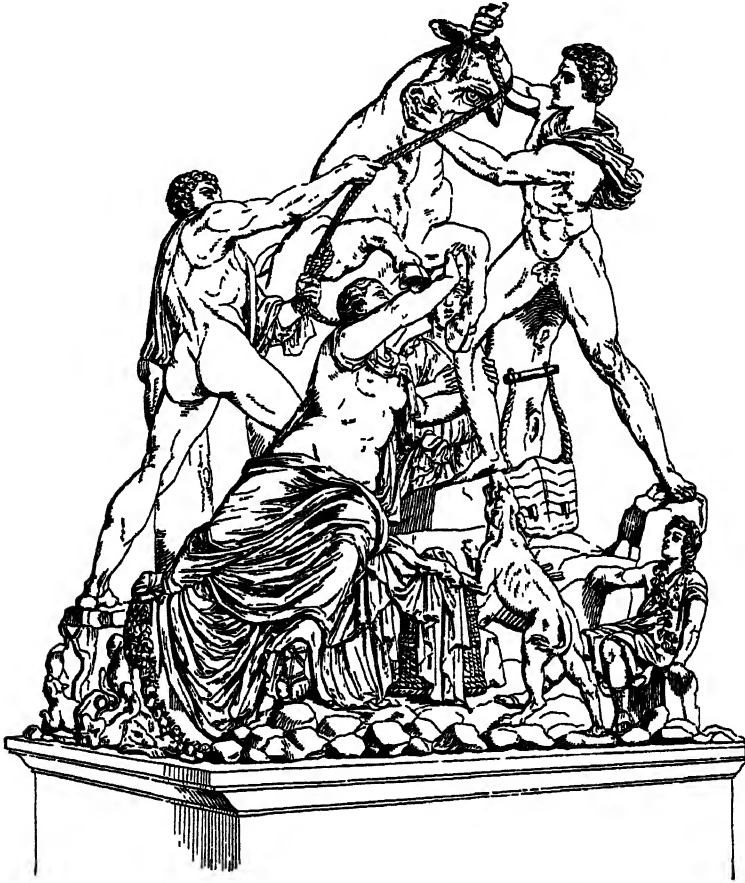


Fig. 241. *The Threatened Punishment of Dirke, popularly called the Farnese Bull. By Apollonios and Tauriseos of Tralles. Naples.*

analogy of a cameo in Naples, with a similar scene, Zethos should, with one hand in Dirke's hair, draw her upward towards the rope, which may have been about her waist. The scene would thus be a terrible one, alleviated only by the sight of the noble struggle of the two athletic youths with the fierce beast. All the accessories point to the fact, that this tragic scene broke in upon the festivities of Dionysos, upon Kithairon's height, as Euripides describes the scene. The sacred *cista*, the snake coiling over the summit, the ivy-wreath, the broken *thyrsos*, and the skin worn by Dirke, one claw of which is antique, evidently refer to such a feast. The pedestal, besides, presents to actual vision

the rocky summit of Kithairon. About the side, diminutive wild beasts come out of their dens; and in front the mountain-god sits, a sympathizing looker-on, doubtless, originally pointing to the scene with the right hand as now restored. The peculiar character of the pedestal, as well as the bold but picturesque piling-up of its masses, in which Antiope appears to be an external addition, seem to show that the sculptor had seen a similar work in painting. That the group, as Dilthey has shown, was originally intended to decorate an elevated spot in some Rhodian park, seems probable both from its colossal size and pyramidal shape, its rocky base supplementing, as it were, the natural rock; as well as from the fact, that its composition is such that it can be walked about and viewed from every side. Such parks were laid out with great luxury in the Hellenistic age; and that nature was adorned with statuary, we have already seen in discussing the Samothrake Nike.

In spirit, how like the Pergamon frieze this group of Antiope and her avengers! How akin its tremendous action, wild passion, and tragic moment of suspense, to the stormy pathos of the combats between gods and giants! Besides, in the accessories, least touched by modern restoration, the technique appears the same, especially in the basket-like *cista* by Dirke's side.

From Antiocheia, in the neighborhood of Tralles, came the master who, as recent research about the inscription has shown, executed one of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, namely, the Venus (Aphrodite) of Melos, now in the Louvre.¹¹⁶⁵ The statue was found by a peasant, in two parts, in a grotto on the island of Melos, in 1820. With it were a left arm and hand; but the indefiniteness of the account leaves it uncertain whether a right arm, and also the three *hermæ*, Heracles, Dionysos, and Hermes, now in the Louvre, were found with it.¹¹⁶⁶ The statue was presented to Louis XVIII., by the Marquis de Rivière, French ambassador at the Turkish court; but had suffered hard usage, previous to shipment, the sensitive marble having been dragged over a stony road to the shore. A mutilated inscription, "[Alex]andros [or Agesandros], son of Menides, of Antiocheia on the Meander, made the work," appears on a drawing of the statue made by the painter Debay, one year after its discovery. There is the strongest reason to believe that this inscription was purposely destroyed, as too inconvenient a witness to the late origin of the statue, which high officials desired to have pass for a work of the very acme of Hellenic art, calling it even a masterpiece of Praxiteles himself.¹¹⁶⁷ Had the art-world, at that time, been familiar with the Pergamon sculptures of the much later second century B.C., the date of the great statue would have been evident from its similarity to them in style; while the shape of the inscribed letters would, doubtless, also have betrayed its kinship to the works of that age.

The upper part of the statue (Fig. 242), down to the drapery, is of finest Parian marble, and superb workmanship; while the lower half is of inferior marble, as well as execution, the mantle seeming confined and scanty for the full limbs of the figure.¹¹⁶⁸ The right arm seems to have been of one piece with the torso; but the left arm, as points of attachment show, appears to have been made of a separate piece. There has been much discussion, whether the part of a left arm and hand, holding an apple, and found with the statue, can have originally belonged with it, so inferior is the workmanship. The earlobes, two-fifths of the nose, a fragment of the left breast, the left foot, and toe of the right foot, are all restored in plaster; a part of the chin, lips, and right shoulder, as well as flaws in the drapery, are mended with the same material, but so as only slightly to disturb the luxurious, velvety surface of the marble. The head has only one-eighth of the total length of the statue (Selections, Plate XVIII.), giving the slender proportions introduced by Lysippos; a strong contrast to the sturdier forms of the Parthenon age, as, for instance, the Canephoros of the Erechtheion (Selections, Plate VII.). So also the superb fullness and luxurious surface of the skin vary greatly from the more contained rendering in the Parthenon statues, and even from that of marbles of the fourth century. Compared, however, with marbles from Pergamon, how near the relationship!

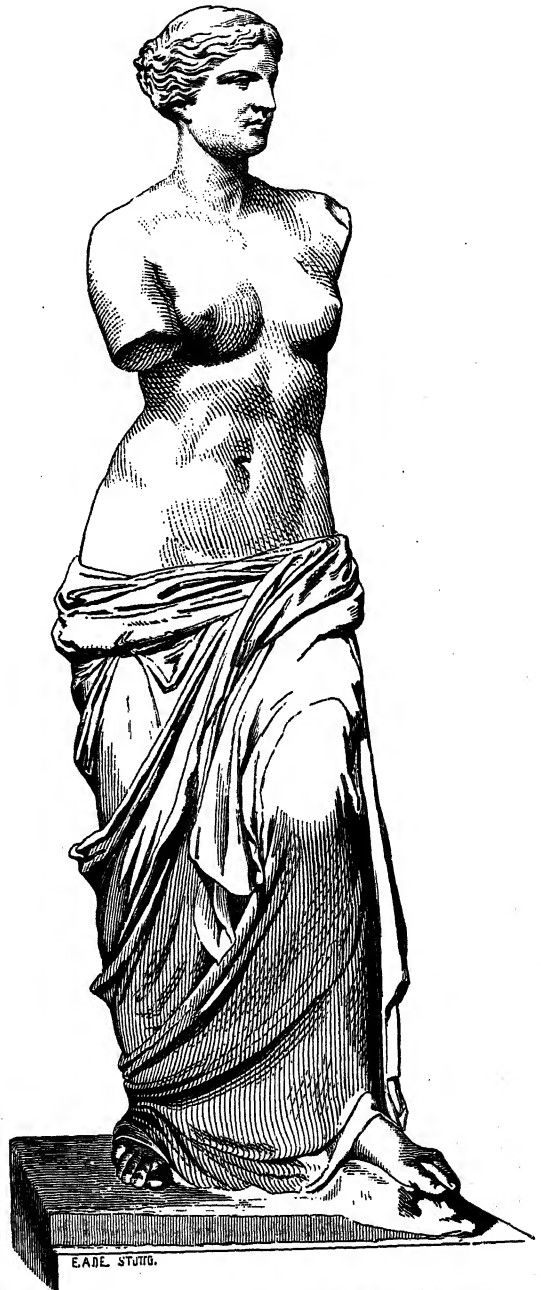


Fig. 242. Venus (Aphrodite) from Melos. Louvre.

This appears most strikingly when a cast or photograph of this statue from Melos is placed alongside of a youthful god discovered in the ruins of the Great Altar, and now in the "Heroen Saal" in Berlin. This youth, with feminine features, and full, round form, is, like the great figure of the Louvre, semi-nude, and has, besides, nearly her pose. Although the rendering of the Melos statue is indeed superior to that of this god, whose muscles seem less compact, yet in both there is the same easy fulness and rendering of the surface. Moreover, in the drapery of this Pergamon figure, we see repeated, on one side, the very mannerism of the scant folds of the mantle of the Melos statue. Many resemblances may also be traced between this glorious goddess and the goddesses of the great frieze of the giants. There is, likewise, a likeness to one Pergamon statue, — a beautiful standing, draped figure, described on p. 592. This is seen in the manner in which the hair, still clinging to the exquisite temples, rolls off of the forehead, in the general style of the rendering of the surface, as well as in the fulness of the cheeks.

In the statue from Melos, there can be little doubt that we have before us Aphrodite, the goddess of love and female beauty; as is indicated not only by her nudity, but also by the liquid softness of her eye, and luxurious fulness of her form and face. As the general pose is found repeated in several ancient statues, some of which are fully draped, but still more as two sister heads have been found in Asia Minor, it is probable that this is a variation on a favorite and received traditional type of that goddess. One of these heads, a pearl of beauty, but much mutilated, was discovered in Pergamon, and is now in the Berlin Museum.¹¹⁶⁹ The build of the face shows unmistakable resemblance to that of the celebrated Aphrodite of Melos. More striking still is the likeness, first pointed out by Benndorf, between the Melos head, and one found in Tralles, now in the Vienna Collection (Selections, Plate XIX.).¹¹⁷⁰ This latter head, which is about one-third smaller than the one from Melos, seems to have been set into a statue, probably draped, and is, happily, very slightly injured. Not only is the proportionate height of the shoulders the same as that of the Aphrodite of the Louvre, but also the bend of the neck, the poising of the head, with the oblique direction of the part lying deep in the hair, and the arrangement of the band in its graceful masses; to crown all, the fundamental lines of the features are the same. But there is also a striking difference between these heads. The face of the Melos Aphrodite is marked by greater width. The chin is rounder, and the mouth wider. The hair grows farther down over the temples, and the lines of the lower jaw make a broader, more luxurious sweep. In contrast to this greater fulness of outline and surface, and to this luxuriousness and gushing overflow of life, like the full bloom of ripe womanhood, the beauty of the Tralles head, as evident in its finer-cut lines, and more reserved surface-rendering, seems delicate. Following Benndorf, we might illustrate this difference

from painting; a similar contrast being evident between faces by Holbein, and those of the later great colorists. As in a Holbein, so in the Aphrodite of Tralles, every detail is drawn with finest, most delicate precision; but as in the works of greater colorists, so in the statue from Melos, every thing is treated with broad, pictorial fulness of form, there being no marked or decided passages, but a rich blending of all. The poise of the head from Tralles seems also more delicate, and sculptors see in the execution of many parts a finer feeling guiding the hand than that which produced the more magnificent beauty of the great statue from Melos. In the Tralles head, we seem to see the sterner beauty of older plastic forms. With the proud dignity of the Aphrodite of Melos, there is combined an impression of fleshy life, streaming out with tremendous power, intensified in its effect by certain irregularities in the mouth and cheeks, giving the face an almost individual expression. To all who have watched the constant development in Greek art, from sterner types to those of greater luxuriousness, the Aphrodite from Tralles seems, on the other hand, to follow more closely an older and simpler ideal, and hence to be a truer reproduction and continuation of some type of the fourth century, possibly of Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite. In the cut of the profile, the form of the beautifully preserved nose, the small nostrils and mouth, as well as in the short upper lip, and dimple in the chin, this exquisite head brings us nearer to the Hermes of Praxiteles, and to the small Olympia Aphrodite of the fourth century (its companion in Selections, Plate XIX.), than does the more imposing head of the Louvre.

Numerous have been the conjectured restorations of the Aphrodite of Melos. Some would have her grouped with Ares; others would have her holding up triumphantly the apple awarded to her by Paris. Still others imagine her dressing her hair; and, again, she is supposed to be writing on Ares' shield, or regarding herself in its polished surface.¹¹⁷¹ Overbeck places the shield on a small, upright support by her left side; a hole in the base, as it was according to Debay's drawing, indicating that some object stood there. He also imagines that she held the shield with her left hand; that the right caught her drapery near her left thigh, to keep it from slipping off; while, as he supposes, it was also kept in place by the raising of the left knee.¹¹⁷² Whether this action, which seems more suitable for a playful terra-cotta than for a queenly statue, is the original one, we shall probably not know until new light has been thrown upon the subject from some now hidden quarter. But without restoration, the statue, as it stands, is a noble revelation of what Asia-Minor art could produce in the age of the Pergamon princes; and the individualism and rare beauty of the face, the luxurious strength and commanding grace of the form, appeal to many even more than do the simpler, severer ideals of an earlier time.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SCULPTURE IN RHODES, SICILY, AND THE ORIENT.

Political State of Rhodes.—Its Colossus.—Patronage of Art.—Artists.—Laocoön.—The Myth.—Its Rendering in Art.—The Original Pose.—Emphasis of Physical Pain.—Resemblance to Pergamon Giant.—Its Date.—Art in Sicily.—In Egypt.—Mesopotamia and Syria.—Tomb of Antiochos on Nemrūd Dagħ.—Greek Sculpture in India.

THE island-republic of Rhodes, by reason of its position in the line of the great commercial routes of antiquity, and its wise neutral policy during the stormy time after Alexander, had attained to great prosperity by the close of the fourth century B.C. But, provoked by the seizure of their traders with Egypt, the Rhodians finally allied themselves with the latter country against Demetrios Poliorketes, and resisted his siege of their city so bravely, that, after the lapse of a year, he withdrew his forces, 303 or 304 B.C., leaving behind his ponderous engines of war. This deliverance from a threatening foreign yoke, the Rhodians commemorated by the erection of statues to all who had aided them; but, most of all, by a bronze colossus to their god Helios, one hundred and fifty feet high, and, on account of its great size, considered one of the seven wonders of the world. This colossus, the work of a native sculptor, Chares of Lindos, a scholar of the great Lysippos, is said to have required twelve years for its completion; the expenses amounting to four hundred and seventy thousand dollars, or, according to another story, to two million five hundred thousand dollars, being defrayed by the sale of Demetrios' engines of war.¹¹⁷³ It probably stood complete before 280 B.C., and for sixty-six years towered, a prominent feature, above the harbor, until prostrated by an earthquake. The fingers alone, we are told by Pliny, were larger than most statues; and few could, with their arms, encompass the thumb. As the colossus lay prostrate, great caverns yawned from among the broken members, within which gigantic rocks were to be seen, put there as ballast. In the seventh century of our era, the bronze was bought by a speculator, who is said to have required nine hundred and eighty camel-loads to remove it.¹¹⁷⁴ Enormous blocks, one lying above the other, at the end of the mole of Rhodes, where now stands the solitary Tower of St. Nicholas, are thought by Professor Newton to be a part of its pedestal.¹¹⁷⁵ Incredible stories, which arose as late as 1480 A.D., make this colossus bestride the harbor, and ships pass in

and out between its gigantic legs.¹¹⁷⁶ Two very rare books, however, are thought at last to give a truer picture of its appearance.¹¹⁷⁷ In one, a plate represents Rhodes and its harbor, on one side of which, with both feet together, stands the bearded and draped colossus. The open left hand is lowered; but the right one is raised on high, holding a basin full of flames. The artistic merit of this colossus by Chares is unknown; but it witnesses to the fondness of the Rhodians for immensity, and, perchance, boisterousness, in sculpture, especially as Pliny informs us that it was but one of a hundred colossi at Rhodes, each of which, as he tells us, with his trite formula of artistic criticism, would have sufficed to make the city celebrated.

These unsatisfactory traditions of art-activity on Rhodes are supplemented by equally tantalizing inscriptions discovered on the island, mentioning many sculptors.¹¹⁷⁸ From them but little can be gathered, except that, so great were the inducements offered by the wealthy republic, that sculptors, especially from Asia Minor, were attracted thither. One Rhodian master, Aristonidas, is said by Pliny to have executed a statue of Athamas, a hero who, in madness destroying his own son, was crushed, on the return of reason, by a sense of his frenzied act. In such a state of deepest remorse and self-accusation, Aristonidas is said to have represented Athamas; adding, according to Pliny, iron to the bronze, to give the blush of shame.¹¹⁷⁹

But the most celebrated effort of Rhodian masters is, without doubt, the group of Laocoön and his sons (Fig. 243), made the burden of a profound essay on the limits of the different arts by Lessing, discussed also by Winckelmann, Goethe, Heine, and others, and still the subject of endless discussion among archæologists.¹¹⁸⁰ In treating of the works of art in Rome, Pliny speaks of the Laocoön as in the palace of Titus, calling it, with fulsome praise, a work preferable to all other works of painting or sculpture; and adds, "From one block did the most gifted sculptors Agesandros, Athanodoros, and Polydoros, the Rhodians, make him the children, and wonderful knots of the snakes, *de consilii sententia*." ¹¹⁸¹ The names of the first two of these masters occur elsewhere in inscriptions. One to an Athanodoros, son of Agesandros, has been found in Rhodes itself, showing that for religious and civil services he received an honorary statue from the people of Lindos.¹¹⁸² This inscription doubtless refers to the masters by that name, who executed the Laocoön group, and hence makes it probable that Agesandros was the father of the two remaining masters of Pliny's trio. The testimony of other inscriptions found on the soil of Italy, to the activity of these men, has, for the most part, been rejected because of the site of discovery and late epigraphy. Kekulé has, however, recently asserted the right of these inscriptions to a hearing, and, from the shape of the characters of the largest, adjudges it to belong to about 100 B.C., and thus to bear witness to the age when these men must have worked.¹¹⁸³

The Laocoön group, now in the Vatican, was discovered in Rome in 1506, near the Sette Sale, the site of Titus' palace on the Esquiline. Popular tradition indeed continues, through the modern guides, to point out, as the spot of its discovery, the Baths of Titus, where the niche is shown from which it



Fig. 243. Laocoön and his Sons. Marble Group in the Vatican.

is said to have been taken, — proved, however, by measurements, to be much too small for the large pedestal of the Laocoön group. The site of discovery corresponds, then, with Pliny's statement; but in one feature the Vatican Laocoön fails to coincide with what the Roman writer says, viz., as to its being of one block. Michel Angelo, who attempted but relinquished the restora-

tion of the right arm, found the group to be composed of three different pieces; and subsequently three other blocks were distinguished. Repetitions of certain parts of the group exist, but are either late Roman copies, or, in some cases, directly traceable to the sixteenth century, when the Vatican group was greatly admired, and parts of it copied.¹¹⁸⁴ There can, therefore, be little doubt, that the Vatican Laocoon is the identical work mentioned by Pliny, as being in Titus' palace; and that his statement, that it was in a single block, is due to his love of the superlative, is confirmed by the fact that he makes the same assertion with regard to the Farnese Bull.

The main outlines of the story of Laocoon are obtained by sifting and comparing the fragmentary statements of different poets.¹¹⁸⁵ Laocoon was the priest of Apollo; but, disregarding the commands of the god, requiring chastity of his servant, became the father of two sons. Not at once did his punishment overtake him; but long after, when his children were full grown, he was visited by two dire serpents, the instruments of divine vengeance. According to the earliest version of the story by Arctinos, the father and younger son at once fell victims to the venomous monsters, but the eldest son escaped. Sophocles, however, in his later tragedy, made Laocoon escape; but Virgil, widely differing in his Roman version, causes all three to perish, and connects the story with the fall of Troy. According to this Roman poet, Laocoon earnestly protested against the introduction of the Trojan horse within the city-walls; and, hurling his spear at the wooden side, the daring act was answered by the clang of arms from within. But, by the lies of a Greek spy, the Trojans were led to believe that the horse was a shrine of Athena, and, hence, that Laocoon was guilty of a sacrilegious act in attacking it. And now deadly serpents, coming over the main, crushed in their coils the unfortunate patriot; his terrible fate, and that of his sons, being looked upon by his countrymen as a miracle worked by the offended goddess. According to this account of Virgil, — which, however, was probably first suggested by the sight of the marble group, — Laocoon was preparing to offer sacrifice, when the huge serpents, coming from Tenedos, attacked and strangled his children, and then destroyed the father coming to their rescue. In the celebrated marble group, Laocoon falls upon the altar, but is not clad in priestly robes or wreathed with laurel, as in a picture discovered in Pompeii (Fig. 244), where the bull for sacrifice leaps away, the affrighted Trojans flee, and one son is dead and the other dying. As better suits the sculptor's art, in the marble, Laocoon is nude, his drapery being laid over the altar. To his left, is his elder son, still resisting, and concerned for his father; to the right, is the younger son, sinking in death. But no interchange of look or feeling, except in the upward glance of the elder son, unites the thought of the three, although they are externally knotted together in the slimy coils of the reptiles. One of these binds the arm of the elder son, passes across the father's back, and, doubtless, held his right arm, which

should have been restored, not as struggling with the coils, but as with the hand falling over the head, as does the arm of the giant at Athena's feet in the Pergamon frieze (Selections, Plate XV.). The second serpent, having tied his tail about the elder son's left ankle, is wound in tremendous coils about the legs of the father and younger son, and is biting the side of the latter. This terrible group gives no idea as to the beginning of the painful calamity ; but its

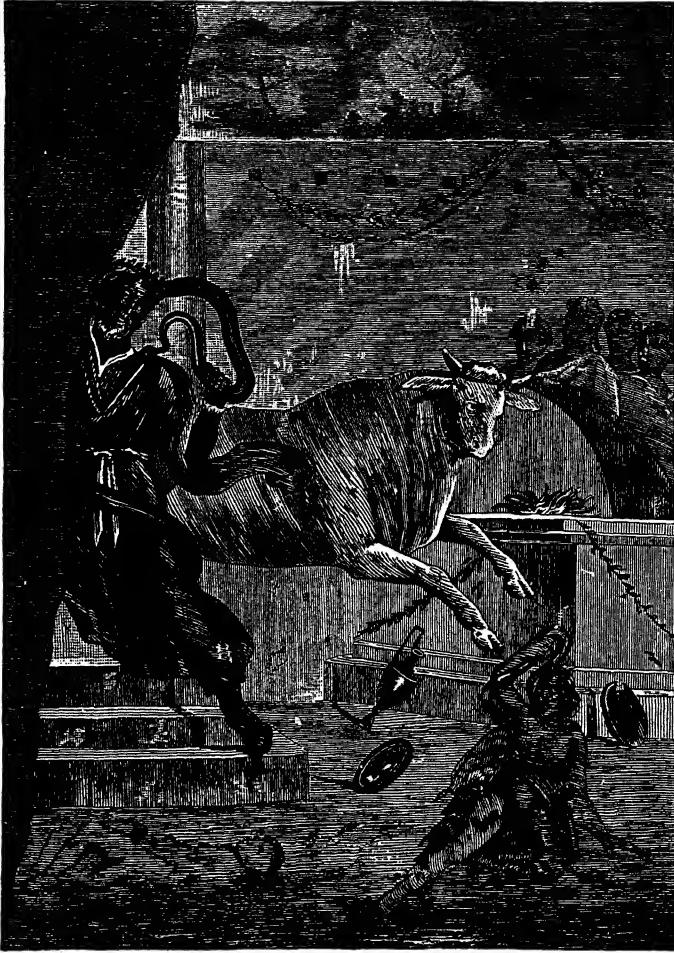


Fig. 244. Laocoön and his Sons. Painting in Pompeii.

progress is most evident, passing from the less-entangled form of the elder son on to the spasmodic action of Laocoön, and finally ending in the helpless, dying form of the younger son, whose arm, correctly restored, would fall behind his head in the relaxation of death. One hand seeks feebly to push away the venomous head ; but, were it not for the encircling coils, we feel that the victim would fall from his father's side. The colossal form of the father, towering above his sons, is disproportionately larger than theirs ; and his anguish seems

correspondingly great. No consciousness of their distress is evident either in his face or form, in which pain, terrible and blinding, seems to have smothered every other feeling. This we see in the aimless movements of his legs, the agony of the cramped toes, the terrible contraction and writhing of the loins, the blind grasping at the serpent's neck with the left hand, and the tortured expression of the face. Fully to feel all the physical pain here brought out, we must study the group by torchlight, when, as may be done with a cast, the fine grades of muscular action in form and face come to fuller expression. In vain do we look here for an heroic struggling with destiny, such as Lessing imagined in the scene. Especially when compared with the glorious groups of the Pergamon altar frieze, do we see how completely and exclusively bare physical pain is here emphasized, and that becomes so pitiable, that the truly tragic, always having something ennobling about it, is excluded. With the sculptor Dannecker, our eye gladly seeks relief in some other object. The only ameliorating chord in this dirge of agony is the sympathetic look of the elder son up to his father, and the hope we may have for his possible escape. For, in harmony with the older Greek version of the myth, and following the judgment of Goethe, Stark, and Brunn on this sufferer, we would gladly believe that he will be delivered.¹¹⁸⁶ His glance of sorrowful sympathy, up to his tortured father, seems to indicate that he does not fear the utmost for himself; and his very slight entanglement in the coils gives us additional hope that he will escape.

The obtusive presence of the snakes in this composition, so very different from their subordinate treatment in the Pergamon frieze, where human forms of supreme beauty are dominant, further illustrates the difference in the two works. It is only when we study the skilful anatomy, the pyramidal grouping, and masterly technique of the Laocoön trio, that we are in some degree reconciled to the revolting scene. But even here there is something decidedly artificial in the arrangement of the figures spread out before us, which seem more like very high relief, akin to that of the Pergamon frieze, than like statuary. This artificiality appears also in the superficial knotting-together of the figures by bulky coils, in the mannerism of the fall of the drapery, and in the careful freeing of all the chests from the distressing coils, as though to afford opportunity for a display of anatomical skill. We almost feel the difficulty the artists must have had in arriving at a satisfactory grouping. In fact, many archæologists have explained Pliny's expression, *de consilii sententia*, as referring to the consultations of the artists in producing the group. Others explain the expression as an order given by Titus for the execution of the work, and therefore assign it to Roman times. A most natural explanation is suggested by Mr. Murray, who, judging from the analogy of Rhodian inscriptions, believes the order to have been made by Rhodian magistrates.¹¹⁸⁷ The opponents of the view that this is a work of the Roman time claim, with great reason, that the general superiority of the group to all known Roman works, its well-known

execution by Rhodians, and its distinctly Hellenistic style, clearly indicate that it belongs to an age of prosperity in Rhodes, and not to a time two hundred years later, when the island had become a humble Roman province, and when, as we may infer from the lack of all inscriptions, it had lost all artistic life.

The kinship of the Laocoön group to the Pergamon marbles has struck many a casual observer; but has been brought out with great force by Kekulé, who has shown that the pose of the body of the Laocoön is clearly derived from the fallen giant at Athena's feet, and that his face is an echo of one of the bearded giants of the frieze.¹¹⁸⁸ The juxtaposition, however, of these works, as in Kekulé's plates, has brought out most clearly the fact that the Laocoön is mannered and dry in conception and treatment, when compared with the bold, free rendering of the fiery compositions of the great frieze. The Laocoön has, besides, a near resemblance to the Pergamon statuette of Prometheus (Fig. 240). How like are the loins of Prometheus, contracted by pain, and the emphasized rendering of each small muscle with a gem-cutter's care, to the muscular treatment of the Laocoön, even though modern filing, retouching, and polishing have, doubtless, done much in the latter to obliterate peculiarities of style! In the Prometheus, with all exquisite finish, no such deadening polish is present. With works, then, like the Prometheus, and the fallen giant of the frieze of the Pergamon altar, the Laocoön is no longer without its affinities in ancient art. The much-disputed question of its age seems thereby well-nigh settled. At all events, until still unknown facts are revealed to us, we must believe it to be one of the variations on the mighty frieze from Pergamon, and consequently a work of later times. Its superiority to the known works of Roman date would place it in the transition period, between the still powerful creations of the Hellenistic age, and the cold academic productions which followed them; i.e., about 100 B.C.

Leaving Asia Minor and Rhodes, the great and vigorous art-centres of the Hellenistic age, we may turn to consider sculpture in other parts of the Greek world during this period. In Sicily, the powerful tyrants Agathocles (289 B.C.) and Hieron II. (269-215 B.C.) patronized art; but, of the masters there active, the name of Micon alone is preserved. He executed two statues of this Hieron, one of which was an equestrian figure placed in Olympia 216 B.C.¹¹⁸⁹ Of a magnificent ship built by Hieron II., a gift to Ptolemy Philadelphos, and of a golden Nike, a present from him to the Roman Senate, there exist dazzling accounts; but we are left to conjecture as to what may have been their artistic character.¹¹⁹⁰

In the Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies, although Greek painting doubtless developed a strong life, the same does not appear to have been the case with sculpture. The only notices we have are of brilliant pageants, such as the festival held at Alexandria, in honor of Adonis, by Arsinoë, wife of Ptol-

emy II. (284-248 B.C.).¹¹⁹¹ In a magnificent arbor were to be seen statues of Aphrodite and Adonis, reclining on couches; many small Loves hovered about them, while two eagles bore Ganymede aloft. All was of costliest materials, gold, ivory, and ebony; rare hangings, flowers, foliage, and fruits, adding to the luxurious pictorial effect. More lavish still was the festival held by Ptolemy himself, in honor of all the gods, but especially of Dionysos.¹¹⁹² In the procession were splendid cars, with costly vessels, and numerous single statues and groups. The Dionysos himself was so large that one hundred and eighty men were required to draw his car; and the god's nurse, Nysa, required sixty men to move her chariot through the streets. The pavilion, put up on this occasion, was gorgeous in the extreme. Before the entrance stood one hundred marble statues; and in sixteen grottos were represented banquets, at which automatic figures

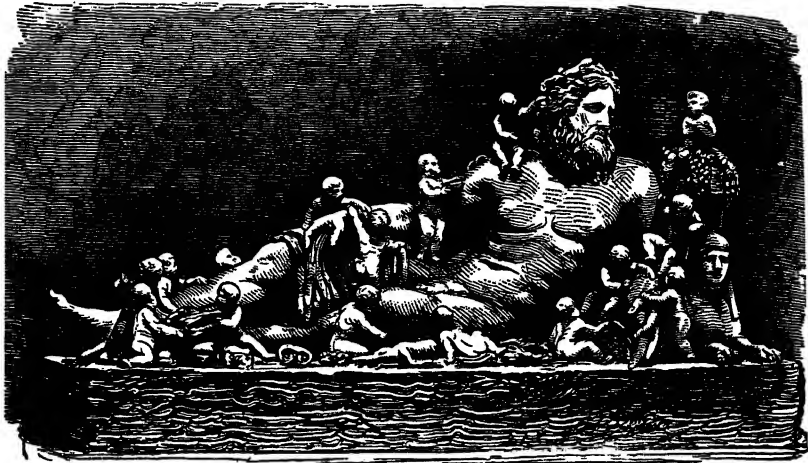


Fig. 245. *The River Nile. Vatican.*

clad in richest garments, and moving like living people, took part. Doubtless, Greek sculpture in Egypt was employed also for nobler purposes, and especially in enriching buildings raised in Alexandria by the Ptolemies. Many fragments, coming from Egypt, show excellent workmanship, such as the Alexander head (Fig. 217) now in the British Museum, and a laughing satyr and a small Zeus head in the Louvre. There is little doubt that in Alexandria was developed the original of the famous statue of the Nile (Fig. 245), with his sixteen little *putti* climbing and playing about him, and symbolizing the number of cubits of the annual overflow of the river. Of this work there exist six *replicas* of different sizes, the principal of which is the one in the Vatican. We have, however, no reason to think, that, as at Pergamon and Rhodes, a new and vigorous art was developed in Egypt. The existence of an old and strongly national art in the Nile valley possibly warped the Greek activities in their natural growth, especially as the meagreness of the Greek population of Egypt must have compelled it to assume a secondary place over against the native element.

In the vast territory of Mesopotamia and Syria, governed by the Seleukidæ, many statues were executed for the new temples ; but the names of sculptors here active, except the Athenian Bryaxis and the Sikyonian Eutychides, are omitted in the accounts of the ancients. Some of these statues were copies of older and celebrated works ; for Antioch, the Olympic Zeus, by Pheidias, having been reproduced. There are also accounts of magnificent pageants celebrated by this court. In one, held by Antiochos Epiphanes, figured all the gods, dæmons, and heroes, concerning whom there existed any legend, as well as Day and Night, Heaven, Earth, Midday, and early Morning ; all represented in statuary gilded, or clad in costly draperies embroidered with gold.¹¹⁹³ What few monuments have been discovered from this time, such as the Lebanon Aphrodite now in the Louvre, and the Zeus found in Southern Palestine, show either an imitative tendency, or a strange mingling of beautifully free forms in the head, with conventionalism in the rest of the figure.

At Nemrûd Dagh, in the heart of Asia Minor, colossal sculptures were discovered in 1882, which may be reckoned as belonging to the closing of the Hellenistic age.¹¹⁹⁴ On a mountain-summit sixty-five hundred feet above the sea, the proud ruler Antiochos of Commagene (69-34 B.C.) made his last resting-place ; this, with its colossal statues and reliefs, and almost endless inscriptions, has at last been revealed to us, telling not only of the glory of the king and of his piety to the gods, but also of the strange character of the art prevalent in his kingdom. On the natural summit of this mountain, an astounding tumulus of fine stones, about forty-five meters high, was found piled up. On the east and west, at the base of this tumulus, are two terraces ; on each of which towered seven colossi, seated in peaceful repose in two solemn rows, and every one of them at least seven meters high. The colossal figures on one side seem exact duplicates, in subject, of those on the other, and are all carved from a limestone found in the neighborhood. The gigantic blocks composing them are hollowed out, and built up without the usual clamps to make statues secure. Searchers for treasure have pushed apart so many of these blocks, that but one figure was found preserved in its entirety. This is a female, towering up seven meters into the mountain air. She is represented as seated on a plain seat without back, and as having one foot advanced, while her head is slightly raised, looking afar off into the distance. She wears a *chiton*, and over the back of her head lies a veil. In the left hand she carries a horn of plenty ; and her right, full of flowers and fruits, rests on her lap. Her head bears a wreath, but the once crowning *polos* now lies at her feet. The remaining figures are all of males ; the central one being the largest, and seated in quiet pose like the one just described. His hands, one of which holds a staff, rest on the knees ; and a mantle protects the back, and a part of the legs. A strange tiara, most un-Greek in style, crowns this head, whose powerful, well-modelled, but rather empty forms, suggest the Greek ideal of Zeus. The three remain-

ing statues are repetitions, in form, of this one, but vary in the heads. From the verbose and somewhat pompous inscription, we learn that Antiochos had received glory, might, and all the goods of life, because of his pious deeds. He tells us that he had not only submitted his rule to the gods, and trusted them, but that he had also consecrated to them images, and provided for their worship. Moreover, he had chosen this lofty summit to be the last abiding-place of his body deserted by the soul, that it might be near the dwelling of the Eternals, and had consecrated this tomb to the worship of the gods and of his ancestors. Not only had he erected this sacred place, but he had ordained priests, who should, on the anniversary of his birth and coronation days, hold solemn services to the gods. Fully to secure these services, he then gives his orders to all coming rulers to carry out his wishes.¹¹⁹⁵ So these colossi are the deities he mentions; the largest being Zeus-Oromazdes, a strange combination of the Greek Zeus and the Persian Ormuzd. The female figure is Commagene, a personification of the country. The young king himself appears among these divinities; and two of the other colossi represent peculiar syncretic gods, — Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. The reliefs found, doubtless, represent the ancestors of the proud Antiochos; the first of whom, as the inscription showed, was Darius, Hystaspes' son. The pose and costume of these figures are, moreover, more Oriental than Greek; so that altogether, in these remarkable sculptures completing Antiochos' lofty grave, we have witnesses, in his inland kingdom, to a strange mingling of Greek and Oriental elements in the late day when he ruled (69-34 B.C.).

Even to far-off India, in consequence of the revolutionizing conquests of Alexander, the influence of Greek sculpture spread during the opening centuries of the Hellenistic age. It was by way of Bactria, a part of the Persian Empire, where Greek colonists and kings established themselves, that Greek rule and influence were thus extended. The coins of these Bactrian princes are a most interesting evidence of the activity of Greek artists in this remote inland country, and point out the course by which Greek art found its way even to India.^{1195a} At Peshawur in the Punjab have been found probably the earliest Indian sculptures in stone, which are thought to date from about the reign of the great king Açoka, 250 B.C.^{1195b} In these monuments, now removed to the British Museum, the Greek modes of expression are most evident, not only in those which are clearly portraits, but also in more ideal subjects. The garments worn are a copy of Greek drapery, and there is much vigor in the portraiture. That this Greek influence, however, was not strong enough materially to affect the later life of Indian sculpture, is not strange. In the monuments of subsequent days, as, for instance, in those from the great tope at Amravati, it has quite faded out, giving place to a voluptuous, unpleasant style, and repulsive symbolism.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OTHER SCULPTURES TRACEABLE TO THE HELLENISTIC AGE.

Influences of the Hellenistic Age upon Art. — Illustrated by Works of Sculpture. — Representation of Common Scenes. — Childhood. — Boy with Goose. — Boy extracting Thorn from Foot. — Changed Character of Mythological Subjects. — Satyrs. — Statues of Aphrodite. — Sleeping Forms. — Menelaos and Patroclos. — Marsyas. — Mourning Woman in Florence. — Head of Dying Woman. — Bronze Head of British Museum. — Apollo Belvedere and its Cognate Statues. — Its Date. — Diana of Versailles. — Seated Lady of Torlonia Collection. — Portraiture. — Bronze Head from Kyrene. — Portrait-Statues of Aristotle, etc.

THROUGHOUT the museums of Europe, many are the sculptures, which, though sundered from their original surroundings, in vigorous treatment and conception, as well as in the subjects they represent, give evidence of a Hellenistic origin. The different character of these works from that of monuments of the earlier, simpler days, may better be understood by noticing changes which had come over society and the individual.

In the first place, the general prevalence of monarchical institutions, and the more intense life in every direction, must have affected most deeply the Greeks of this period. Hitherto, the individual had been greatly influenced by his participation in public affairs. Now, as the guidance of state became concentrated in the hands of the monarch, this essential groundwork of the old Hellenic civilization was gone. From motives of self-interest or preference, men inevitably developed in a single direction. They became, in a word, specialists; and the professions were sharply sundered, as they had not been in older Greece.¹¹⁹⁶ Protogenes, who was living at Rhodes during the siege of that city, painted quietly in his garden, which stood in the midst of the enemy's camp; and when asked by the hostile leader Demetrios, how he ventured to remain outside the walls, replied, that he knew Demetrios warred against Rhodes, and not against art. Here Protogenes frequently received the besieger, who proved his appreciation of the painter's art, by sparing a quarter of the city for fear of destroying his picture of "Ialysos and the Dog." Men of each calling — poets, learned men, and actors — naturally clubbed together; and the professional classes were sharply defined. This tendency of society to sink into artificial grooves and professional ruts, reminding us of our own times, was, no doubt, fostered by the multiplication of large cities throughout the civil-

ized world, with their dense populations, more excited life, and by the over-refinement which pervaded some classes, nurturing exclusiveness and isolation. Society, thus sharply sundered, and spiced with contrast and variety, brought out into strong relief personal idiosyncrasies, and peculiarities of class and rank. Moreover, this varied panorama of human life had its fascination for the men of that time, as the same phenomenon has for us to-day, and could not fail to find its expression in art. On the other hand, the artificiality and lack of simplicity around them, the results of a highly complex civilization, awakened in men a longing for what they had lost; and their fancy found relief in pictures of the children of nature, living in unclouded union with fountain, forest, field, and flock.

Many walks of life which, as far as we know, had hitherto been unheeded in art, were now represented in keeping with the prevalent realism, in all their attractive and many of their forbidding aspects. So comedy caught the unique features of city-life, developing to great perfection the type of the adventurous soldier, the wealthy citizen, the artist, the artisan, the parasite, etc.; idyllic verse busied itself with the rural classes, shepherds, hunters, and fisher-folk; and sculpture and painting did not fall behind the sister art of poetry. So, for instance, the actor seems to have been for the first time represented in statuary, as wearing the mask and other curious paraphernalia of his calling, such as the false stomach, etc., seen in several statues in the Villa Albani, doubtless traceable to originals of this age. One has taken off his mask, as if in answer to the applause of the public. The sculptor's fancy delighted itself with fishermen, shepherds, or merry childhood.¹¹⁹⁷ The fisherman, as sung in verse, tough-skinned and weather-beaten, appeared, doubtless for the decoration of fountains, in statues like the one in the Vatican, where the plebeian costermonger is crying the fish he carefully holds in a basket (Fig. 246), his plain face and horny skin being marvellously portrait-like in treatment. Street-urchins, quarrelling over knuckle-bones, seem to have been represented with an equally speaking realism, as a fragment of a group in the British Museum teaches us. A lad with homeliest features, biting into the arm of his offending comrade, the *genre*-like naturalness in the whole, and the excellence of the surface-rendering, show us that we have here a work of the Hellenistic age, which may, however, have taken for its groundwork a type



Fig. 246. Fisherman. Vatican.

received from older times (p. 389). Plump babyhood seems now to have been represented with all its unplastic roundness and presumptuous strength, sometimes wrestling with an animal, sometimes carrying its pets or a vase. Such is the very celebrated boy with a goose, in numerous repetitions (Fig. 247) at Rome, Munich, Paris, and elsewhere. An impudent little fellow, full of life and spirits, seizes a goose as large as himself by the neck, and struggles with it like a hero. The contrast between this chubby baby form, and its heroic action, makes the charm of the work. For him, the conflict is a very serious one, quite as much so as was the strangling of the Nemean lion to Heracles. The goose was a well-nigh indispensable part of domestic life in antiquity. It was prized as the symbol of the perfect housewife, and women and children delighted to play with this animal. We can readily believe, then, that the motive of this group was one which the sculptor had frequently seen in daily life, perhaps in his own household. Happily, the original of this work is trace-

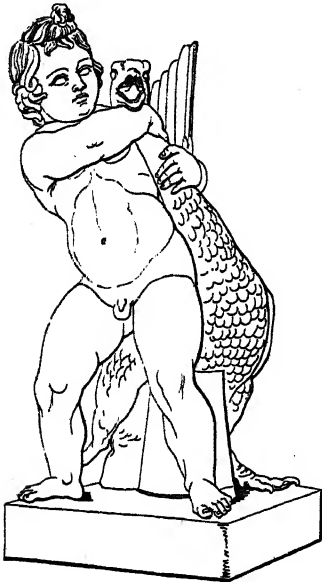


Fig. 247. *Babe struggling with a Goose.*
After Boëthos. Louvre.

able directly to a sculptor who lived in the early part of the third century B.C. This master, Boëthos by name, probably from Chalkedon, in the northern part of Asia Minor, was a celebrated chiseller in fine metals; and Pliny mentions with praise his bronze, a boy struggling with a goose.¹¹⁹⁸ Pausanias saw in Olympia the figure of a seated child in gilded bronze, by Boëthos; and it is possible, as Furtwängler suggests, that a figure much like the boy with the goose may be traced back to this Olympia original.¹¹⁹⁹ This little figure, repeated at least eight times in different museums, sits on the ground in childlike fashion, holding his goose tightly under one arm, and, while raising the other, calls lustily for help. Here also the charm lies in the amusing contrast between the intensity of the childish trouble, and the insignificance of its cause, — between his earnestness and his impotence.

At this time, the simpler motives of an earlier age were translated into more realistic and sometimes rustic ones. The theme represented in the bronze boy of the Capitol, whether a genuine or only an imitated archaic work, is one of the more celebrated of those which underwent this transformation. Thus two *replicas*, one in marble in the British Museum (Fig. 248), and another, in bronze, in the possession of Baron Rothschild, in Paris, are in the full spirit of this Hellenistic time.¹²⁰⁰ The closed lips, placid expression, and archaic hair of the severer work of the Capitol, are widely different from the realistic frame and features of the marble boy of the British Museum. The back of the latter

bends over the raised foot much more deeply than does that of the boy of the Capitol. Each muscle is swollen by exertion ; and the rustic lad, with open mouth and intent gaze, seems so much absorbed in extracting the offending brier, that our sympathy for him is at once enlisted, and we hope that he may succeed. How truthful the vigorous form, the tumbled hair, the homely peasant face, and how charming the manipulation of the marble ! To the majority

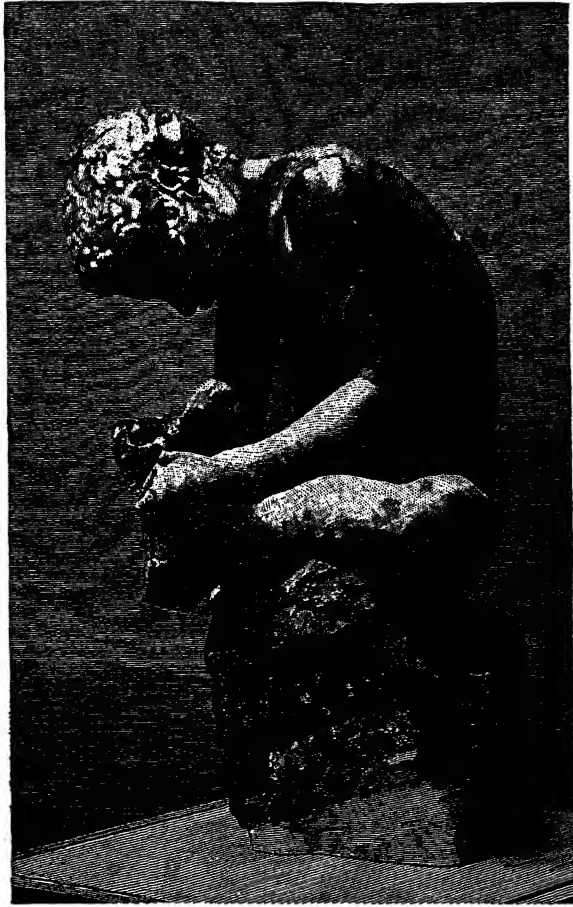


Fig. 248. *Marble Statue of Boy extracting Thorn from Foot. British Museum.*

this figure must appeal more strongly than the older, sternly generalized figure of the Capitol ; and were we asked to choose, not a votive gift to be put in a temple, but some pleasing ornament for garden or shady fountain, we could not do better than select this rustic, with his wounded foot, who once, indeed, must have decorated a fountain, as may be inferred from the holes in his rocky seat.

Akin in spirit to these *genre*-like works is the group of wrestling athletes at Florence, which, by reason of its intricate composition, its display of anatomi-

cal knowledge, bravour in foreshortening, and technique, is adjudged to belong to this age. The heads, in different marble from the statues, are restorations; and their expression is out of keeping with the original subject.¹²⁰¹ The fist of the upper athlete, preparing to strike a brutal blow at his antagonist, is also a false restoration, since blows were forbidden in wrestling. The arm originally sought that of the opponent, thus producing the effect of a more-equal contest, and giving a nobler thought to the group.

But the fondness for homely scenes and momentary actions, at this time, passed out beyond every-day life, and invaded the realms of mythology as well. In Hellenistic poetry, even the Olympic gods engage in trivialities like every-

day people. Hermes is made to blacken his face with ashes, in order to scare the naughty children of the gods. Artemis, the stern huntress of old, now appears as a babe three years old, who, when she visits Hephaistos' workshop, climbs upon Briareos' knee, and plucks out of his shaggy breast a handful of hair. Aphrodite offers a reward to any one who will bring back her runaway child Eros; or, she takes the infant god to learn music of a shepherd, to whom the little mischief-maker teaches love. So in plastic art, like any human child, Eros plays with the weapons of the mighty heroes. It is this merry, roguish child of later myth, who has become in modern times the pet figure among the Greek gods. The difference between this chubby busybody and the youth of earlier art, — the soulful, love-whispering god, personifying a world of ethical influence, — has been well pointed out by Furtwäng-



Fig. 249. Bronze Satyr from Pergamon. Berlin.

ler.¹²⁰² No less interesting is the transformation among the followers of Dionysos, changing the dreamy, elegantly graceful satyrs of the fourth century B.C., into homely forms, overflowing with roguish fun and mischief, and suggested by the peasantry. This is admirably illustrated by a bronze satyr six inches high (Fig. 249), recently discovered in Pergamon, and now one of the choice treasures of the Berlin Museum.¹²⁰³ Here the sylvan sprite has become a thorough rustic in character and form. Drawing back, he raises his right hand, which once doubtless held his short shepherd's-crook, as though parrying a blow. So brimming full of mischievous glee is his homely, almost bestial, face, that we seem to hear his boisterous laugh, and are tempted to join in his contagious merriment. In the left hand he carries the *syrinx*, an attribute

borrowed from the god Pan. The merry, pleasure-loving satyr of an older art took life too easily to be at enmity with any being; but our Pergamon satyr fights with the earnestness of any young mortal, although the old roguish satyr-look lights up his face, and his large mouth, low-bridged nose, and pointed ears reveal but too clearly his animal nature. This admirable little bronze seems



Fig 250. Bronze Head of Satyr. Glyptothek. Munich.

in pose to re-echo Myron's Marsyas of a previous century (p. 292), upon which the later artist has here made variations in the spirit of the new time.

An admirable head in the Munich Glyptothek (Fig. 250), about life-size, and originally from the Villa Albani, is so like, in spirit and treatment, to the works of this age after Alexander, that it must not be passed unnoticed. It shows another of these merry followers of Dionysos, his face alive with smiles, and his features so much like those of a simple peasant-lad, that, were it not for his large, pointed ears, we might be tempted to consider him a genuine shepherd. Unfortunately, the modern neck and bust, on which the antique

head rests, do not harmonize well with it. We naturally expect a face, so merrily laughing, to be roguishly tipped; but it has been restored as most primly erect. By covering the modern parts, while looking at the head, the expression of fun in the face, now seeming to verge upon a grimace, now upon the merriest sport, will be astonishingly enhanced. Although much nobler in feature than the Pergamon bronze, just described, we see here also the same rustic character and naïve boorishness given to one of Dionysos' train, and rendered with a startling naturalness in the minutest detail.

Satyrs seem now to have been also represented in statuary, not only as dancing, as though in their natural element; but the same type, carried a little further, represents the satyr twisting round and round, like a kitten, after its tail. The former motive we see in the famous Dancing Satyr of the Villa Borghesi, a serio-comic representation of the sacred Bacchic dance, and a bold achievement in marble. The strong form does not seem to step or stand, but slowly to whirl around with legs crossed and feet on tiptoe. Illustrative of the thoroughly playful satyr of the second class are several statues. Thus, in Munich is a figure of a young satyr in black marble, found at Antium, which is evidently a copy of some celebrated original, probably in bronze, since, in all the *replicas* of this subject, the support added to hold the marble form varies according to the taste of the copyist.¹²⁰⁴ In these figures, a youthful satyr, having just caught a glimpse of his tail, catches at it with his left hand, and whirls around after it on his toes, his face expressing great astonishment at the remarkable discovery. We trace in these monuments a change of spirit and composition from the older satyr of Myron (p. 292). There Marsyas, all in earnest, draws back affrighted before the goddess, resting his weight on one leg. The Borghese satyr, of a much later time, and showing us another stage, rotates slowly in his swing. And in the young satyr in Munich, the sprite whirling rapidly, in the chase after his tail, has become the very utmost of comic mythic *genre*.

Akin in spirit to these works, but emphasizing still more the animal side of these beings, is the celebrated Barberini Faun of the Munich Glyptothek, no doubt an original of this age. This figure, in Parian marble, of a heavily sleeping satyr, was discovered during the pontificate of Urban VIII., a Barberini (1623-1644), near the Mausoleum of Hadrian at Rome. It is believed that the statue adorned the tomb of that emperor, but that, in the siege of Rome under Totila the Ostrogoth, in 544 A.D., it was precipitated into the Tiber. The left fore-arm, the most of the right leg, and the lower part of the left leg are altogether new. The general sprawling pose is, however, doubtless correct, and well renders the low nature of this semi-brute, whose whole form is thoroughly overcome by the intoxicating drink. Were not the execution of the colossal statue so superior, it is doubtful whether the repulsive theme could ever have aroused such general admiration. Its exceedingly unplastic compo-

sition makes it possible to seek for the inspiration of this work in painting, in which the elements of color and landscape, and perhaps, in addition, a sly tormentor standing by, may have made the scene more agreeable.¹²⁰⁵

Passing to the representations of the gods, we find that the goddess Aphrodite seems now to have been conceived in varied and momentary action, rather than in keeping with her essential being, as the goddess of love, as was done in the fourth century. In sculpture, she actually appears in the bath, as in the very many *replicas* of a crouching Aphrodite, possibly traceable to one Daidalos of Bithynia (not to be confounded with the artist of the same name of the end of the fifth century B.C.).¹²⁰⁶ This statue, with its elaborate headdress, developed anatomy, and far-fetched and intricate pose, seems thoroughly foreign to the spirit of that older time; but its place is with such forms as the female torch-bearer in the small Pergamon frieze, the Venus Callipygos, and the Hermaphrodite, in which the voluptuous charms and skilful execution fail to veil the unpleasantness of the thought.

During this age there was a prevalent taste for sleeping forms.¹²⁰⁷ Among such, we see shepherd and fisher lads lost in dreams, beside Nymphs, Mænads, Satyrs, Loves, and Hermaphrodites. Among the noblest of these sleeping forms is a colossal figure of the Vatican, with its sister statue in Madrid having nearly the same pose, except that the head lies deeper, and hence the sweep of the lines is less graceful. That these figures represent the forsaken Ariadne, disturbed by troubled dreams, as she sleeps on the rocks of Naxos, appears from the occurrence of this figure on picture-like reliefs on sarcophagi, in which Theseus, forsaking his sleeping beauty, goes to his ship on one side; while, on the other, Dionysos, with his merry swarm, comes seeking her to make her his bride. The intricate composition, and amount of foreshortening, leave little doubt that this graceful statue goes back to a picture for its original, here nobly translated into marble.

A celebrated heroic group, usually called Menelaos and Patroclos, representing a warrior bearing his precious load, a dead comrade, and looking up with pathos to the gods, or, perhaps, to an approaching enemy, appears in several *replicas*; and is, doubtless, also to be dated from this age, judging from its spirit and rendering, so near akin to the Pergamon marbles. The famous Pasquino torso in Rome is undoubtedly the finest fragment among these *replicas*. A head belonging to this same group, found well preserved in Hadrian's villa, is now in the Vatican; where also are the legs of the dead hero, expressing the relaxation of death in the realistic manner of this age, not only in the pose, but in the treatment of muscles and skin. In this group, the hopelessness of death is so contrasted with the heroic energy, the devotion, and terrible earnestness of life, that the impression left is one of tragic power, even in the falsely restored *replica* in Florence, where Menelaos' head is cast down.

To this age belongs another subject, striking by its strangeness, met with

in *replicas* in the Villa Albani, the Louvre, and Berlin. It is the figure of a man hanging by his arms to a tree, and representing Marsyas about to be flayed, for presumption, by order of Apollo. According to the analogy of reliefs, this tortured figure should be associated with the celebrated statue in the Uffizi, at Florence, of a slave sharpening his knife for the cruel deed. The excellent anatomy of Marsyas' racked body, and the great realism in the rendering of the form of the brutal slave, make it quite certain that these figures date from the Hellenistic age, and may, perhaps, be traced to Pergamon itself, with the art of which they seem to have affinities. As in the case of the Prometheus group from Pergamon, this subject, with little doubt, goes back to a painting in which Apollo may also have appeared, accompanied by the Muses, as he appears in reliefs on sarcophagi.¹²⁰⁸

That impressive figure in the attitude of mourning, known commonly as *Thusnelda*, and also as *Germania devicta*, a restored *replica* of which stands in the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence, is proved, by the recent discoveries at Pergamon, also to have a close relationship with the art of that city. Not only are the sandals of the figure like those worn by several goddesses of the frieze : the very motive of the lower part of the statue is found in one fragment from Pergamon. Were the upper part of the Pergamon fragment also preserved, we might be better able to judge whom this grand, dejected mourner represents ; whether a character from tragedy, such as, perhaps, the brooding Medea, or perhaps, as is more probable, a personification of a conquered people, — the product of that tendency which produced such statues as the Dying Galatian and his companions of the Villa Ludovisi ; and which should, doubtless, furnish the Roman age with many fine motives for representing the conquered peoples, with which triumphal arches and altars were adorned.

The Dying Medusa, as it is called, a tragic head in very bold relief (twenty-three centimeters deep), in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome (Plate VI.), takes a high place among originals of this time. Attached to the wall, far above the light, it has attracted but little attention. Although the oval background, much of the nose, a part of the lower lip, and the most of the neck and chest are restored, still it is evident that the last moments of a powerful woman are here most tragically expressed. Her hair falls in dishevelled curls about cheeks and neck. Her eyes, seen best from the front, are already well-nigh closed ; and her mouth contracts, but so beautifully, that, at first sight, one is tempted to think she sleeps. Considered as a dying Medusa, her clinging locks have been explained as a peculiar rendering of the snakes which are Medusa's attributes. But comparison with the tragic youthful heads of the Pergamon frieze shows so strong a likeness in conception and treatment, that it becomes impossible to seek an analogy for this head in any of the Gorgon types. The great probability, that it is but a part of a powerful human figure, also militates against its being taken for a Medusa, which served mainly, in the form of a





Fig. 251. Life-size Marble Head. Glyptothek. Munich.

mask, as a symbol to ward off evil. Isolated from its original surroundings, and restored as a decorative medallion, the subject of this powerful head is so much a mystery, that we can only admire its wonderful art, and see that it belongs to

that fiery stream of creative energy which found vent around Pergamon's altar.

A beautiful marble now in Munich (Fig. 251), which was bought in Naples, presents a great contrast in every respect to this tragic relief. This Munich head has the nose, a part of the chin, the back of the hair, as well as neck and chest, restored; but the similarity of the headdress, and of the general type of the face, to nymphs on votive reliefs, suggests the possibility that she is one of their cheerful choir. The elaborateness in the arrangement of her hair makes it probable that this charming face smiles down upon us from the Hellenistic age, although the quietness and reserve in the forms seem to show a revulsion against the luxuriousness and tremendous intensity which then became so prevalent, and a going-back to simpler forms. A small head, discovered in Corfu (Fig. 252), now owned by a Greek gentleman of Patras, is very like this Munich head in general type, but fuller and more luxurious. The same is true of two other heads of inferior art, one of which is restored as Ceres.¹²⁰⁹



Fig. 252. Small Marble Head discovered in Corfu. (Patras.)

A rare bronze head, purchased a few years since by the British Museum for ten thousand pounds sterling, may doubtless also take its place among the great works of this age (Fig. 253). The story of Professor Newton's fruitless search for the site of its discovery illustrates the mystification thrown in the way of science by ignorant and crafty Orientals, and reveals to us how

great and mysterious are the vicissitudes to which some of the rarest works of antiquity have been subjected.^{1209a} This head, evidently, belonged to a statue, there being still preserved a part of the left shoulder, towards which the slightly bended head is somewhat turned. The neck shows the manner of mending defective casting which is often seen in antique bronzes, and consists in patching with small pieces of bronze simply nailed on. A hand which came with the head is, likewise, believed to be a part of the figure ; it has soft, full forms, holds drapery falling easily over it, and its *patina* is of the same color. This glorious bronze head, more than life-size, and sadly injured at the back, when standing isolated in its glass case in the British Museum, seems like one of those riddles in Greek art which can never be solved. But are there no points of contact which unite the art of these proud features with other monuments? Going back to the goddesses of the Great Altar at Pergamon, and looking at the Artemis, or at the veiled goddess hurling a snake-bound vase, we find such strong resemblances to this bronze, that we may imagine that we have here a sister goddess. The same short, pointed oval of the face, with its small chin, the same breadth of the temples, the same ringlets on the forehead and before the ears, and the same rolling of the hair off from the face, leaving bare the roots, are to be seen here as in the Pergamon heads, but are peculiarities not met with in the Pheidian or Praxitelian ages.

There is, perhaps, no statue concerning which more has been written, and around which discussion has waxed hotter, than the celebrated Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican (Fig. 254).¹²¹⁰ This statue was discovered in a tolerably good state of preservation, towards the end of the fifteenth century, during excavations made at Antium (Porto d'Anzio), a favorite seashore-resort of the Roman emperors, and especially of Nero. The only part that was entirely lacking was the left hand, with its attribute ; while the declamatory right hand was almost intact, the fingers alone requiring restoration. This was done by Montorsoli, who also repaired a few breaks in the statue, and added the missing left hand, putting into it the stump of a bow. Great has been the diversity of opinion about this attribute, and the action of the proud, swiftly moving Apollo, wearing across his chest a quiver-strap, but without its quiver. A history of this discussion alone would fill a large volume, to say nothing of the different opinions with regard to the originality of the statue. Winckelmann's most eloquent passages were written concerning it, his hymn to the god being genuine poetry, although clothed in the garb of prose. Feuerbach, in a volume full of poetic fire and finely wrought theory, endeavored to prove that the statue must be an original of the very highest period of Greek art, and that Apollo here appeared with his bow. Some claimed, that the god had just let fly his arrow ; others, that he was on the point of shooting, and that his enemy must be Python, the dragon foe, laid low by his fierce arrows ; others, that it was the earth-

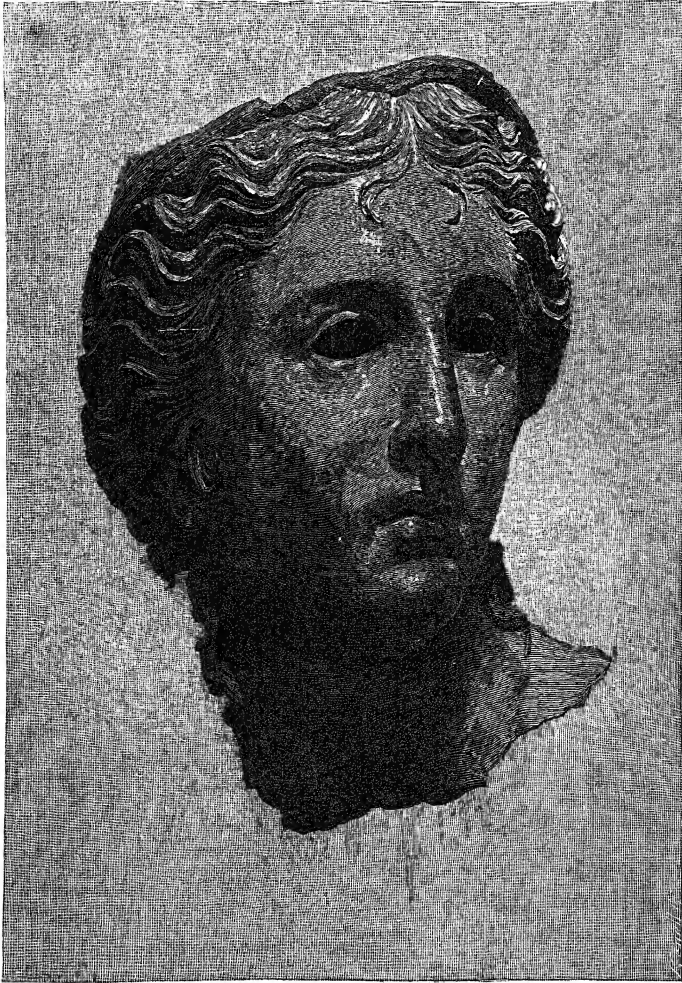


Fig. 253. Ideal Bronze Head. British Museum.

born giant Tityos, who, daring to touch Apollo's mother, was smitten by the god; still others believed the enemy to be Niobe's family. The subject, however, assumed a new phase, when in 1860 notice was drawn, by Stephani, to a statuette owned by Count Stroganoff in St. Petersburg, and discovered well-nigh seventy years before in Epeiros. This Stroganoff bronze (Fig. 255), which is sixty centimeters high, has the same pose as the Belvedere statue; but both its

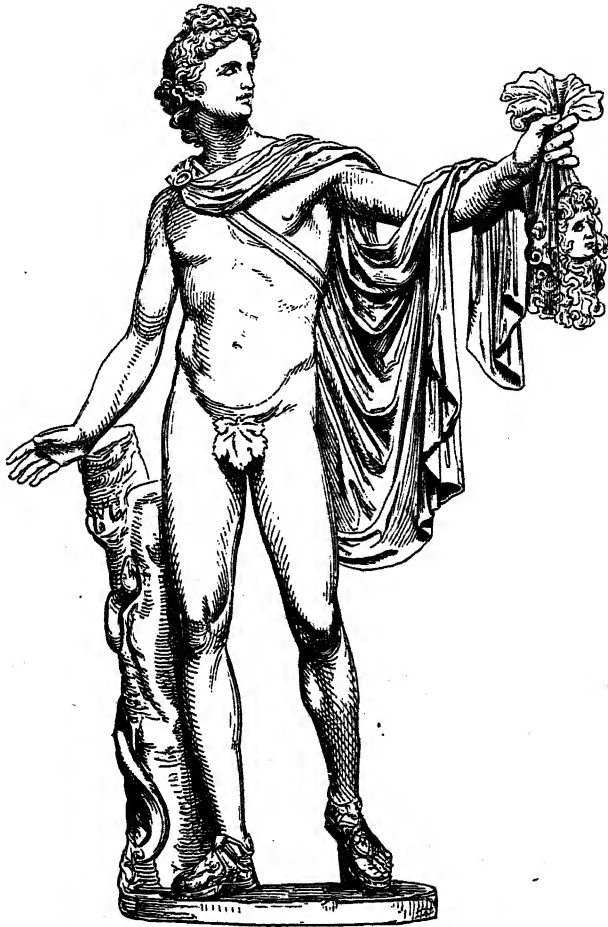


Fig. 254. *The Apollo Belvedere. Marble Statue in the Portico Belvedere of the Vatican. (Here conjecturally restored as carrying an aegis.)*

hands are happily preserved, and are exceedingly graceful. The extended left arm is, by some unknown cause, bent too far towards the body, and should follow more nearly the turn of the proud head. Close study of the bronze has shown that a large part of the mantle is lost. The finding in Rome in 1866, by Steinhäuser, of a marble head, which is now in Basle, furnished new fuel for the flame of discussion.¹²¹¹ It also clearly represented the same subject as the famous Apollo of the Belvedere, but, in some respects, seemed superior to

that highly polished and over-elaborate work. These discoveries, as well as a careful comparison with genuine datable sculptures from Greek soil, at last have shown most clearly that the Apollo Belvedere is but a reproduction of



Fig. 255. Bronze Statuette of Apollo, owned by Count Stroganoff. St. Petersburg.

some fine original of earlier days, and is the product of that Roman fondness for grandiloquent display, which caused the multiplication of innumerable theatrical statues for purposes of decoration. The original, serving as a pattern for

all these Apollos, must have been of the Hellenistic age, as is evident from the great resemblance of the Apollo Belvedere to the Pergamon marbles, even in details of hair and elaborate sandals. The later execution of the Belvedere figure becomes strikingly apparent when its cold academic form is compared with that of the glorious Apollo of the Pergamon frieze (Selections, Plate XVI.). This god, having the right arm raised to draw an arrow out of a quiver hanging from his strap, has otherwise the same attitude as the Belvedere statue. But his drapery is suited to the wild *mêlée* of battle in which he is engaged, and is most strongly contrasted to the prim mantle of the Apollo Belvedere, which is buttoned carefully on the shoulder, laid faultlessly over the extended arm, and unmoved by the rushing speed of the wearer. Still more, the strap, crossing the noble chest of the Pergamon Apollo, performs a real office by holding a quiver well laden with its dire burden; while in the Belvedere statue, although the strap is retained its quiver is omitted, and, over the place where it should hang, a mantle is thrown with careful folds. Another proof is here, then, that in this statue we have an illustration of the meaningless copying of older forms without their intrinsic significance. The execution of the Belvedere statue is, moreover, so sharp, and its composition such, that it seems an echo of bronze; and that such movement is, in fact, far better expressed by bronze, appears from a glance at the far more graceful Stroganoff statuette (Fig. 255), where the ungainly marble support is not needed, and consequently wanting.

In the discussion of the much-mooted question as to the action of the Apollo Belvedere, this Stroganoff bronze has played a most important part. The left hand of the small bronze has in its grasp folds which gave rise to the theory that the figure held an *ægis*, on the lower part of which must have glared the petrifying Gorgon head. The youthful god of light, it was claimed, here appeared as shaking this *ægis* in the face of the enemy; and his representation as such was traced to the part taken by Apollo in the repulse of the Galatians, when they attacked his sacred seat, Delphi, in 279 B.C. According to popular belief, when the wild hordes then pressed towards his shrine, the god himself was seen descending through the temple-roof, from the high heavens, in light supernal, and radiant in the beauty of youth. To his direct interposition was ascribed a storm of thunder, lightning, snow, and hail, which caused the enemy to be seized with a panic bringing about their overthrow. It was reasoned, that the *ægis*, the symbol of the thunder-storm, would have been a most appropriate weapon to be put into Apollo's hand on this occasion, although usually wielded only by Zeus and Athena. A passage in the Iliad, where Zeus on one occasion gives the *ægis* over to Apollo, was quoted as the literary support for this theory.¹²¹² Moreover, the original, whence such a representation might be derived, was imagined to have been among the statues indefinitely described by Pausanias, as erected in thanks for this victory over the Gala-

tians. At Delphi, he tells us, were dedicated by the Aitolians, besides figures of many of their generals, an Artemis, *two Apollos*, an Athena, a trophy, and an armed Aitolia; here the Phokians put a statue of one of their generals; and at Patras was consecrated, on the *agora*, an Apollo which Pausanias tells us was worth seeing.¹²¹³ Such is the shadowy background upon which fancy has painted the origin of the Apollo Belvedere, imagining that the original held with extended hand the *ægis*, and that its nostrils curled in scorn at the impious barbarian threatening the sacred shrine. Serious objection was made to this theory by Bötticher, on the ground that an *ægis* of massive stone would have been too heavy for the extended marble arm; but this difficulty was quietly set aside by the supposition that the *ægis* might have been of thin bronze.¹²¹⁴ Furtwängler, in examining, in 1882, the Stroganoff statuette, came to the conclusion that the folds held in its right hand could not be parts of a snaky, hairy *ægis*, but more probably were from the god's mantle, which has evidently been broken off, and should, perhaps, extend over his arm to the hand.¹²¹⁵ Furtwängler seemed thus to have at last done away with the very theatrical and unpleasant *ægis* motive. The very loose way, moreover, in which the Stroganoff statuette holds the supposed weapon, goes to confirm the impression that the god cannot be fiercely shaking a dread weapon in the enemy's face. Were Apollo thus occupied, he could not daintily hold, as he does, the horror-striking weapon, but he would, doubtless, have been represented as closing his fingers over it in firm grasp. Kieseritzky, however, a believer in Stephani's *ægis* theory, has once more opened up the discussion; claiming that his study of the statuette does not carry out Furtwängler's supposition, and attempting to turn opinion into



Fig. 256. Rhodian Coin with Head of Helios. 400-350 B.C.

its old channels with regard to the existence of an *ægis* in Apollo's hand.¹²¹⁶ The Apollo Belvedere, the Stroganoff statuette, and beautiful Basle head are thus again cumbered with this unpleasant theory; and we can only hope that more light will be yet thrown upon the perplexing question, by a more general familiarity with the Stroganoff statuette, which as yet exists, for the larger part of archaeologists, only in photographic reproductions.

But, while there are such differences of opinion as to the attitude borne by Apollo, all agree that the original must have been a creation of the Hellenistic age, which doubtless built on an ideal developed still earlier. Thus, the proud head has much affinity with the glorious head of Helios, the god of light, on Rhodian coins of the fourth century B.C.; one of the finest of which, dating, probably, from the first half of that century, is represented in Fig. 256. It is sterner and more contained than the marble head of the Belvedere Apollo, but has the same proud poise, and a dawning of its scornful expression in eyes and lips. Between these two extremes, we may, no doubt, place the Basle head, which is simpler than the Belvedere Apollo, and seems the work of a

Greek chisel of about the third century B.C. The modern restoration of this head, with the nose and hair-dress of the Apollo Belvedere, however, dispels much of the effect that the marble originally had, and which is best to be seen in those casts where the offending adjuncts have been removed.

In many respects similar to the Apollo Belvedere, and nearly enough like it in artistic conception to be its sister, is that celebrated Artemis, known as the Diana of Versailles. Her drapery and sandals, like those of the Pergamon frieze, show her connection with the works of this age and time ; and her similarity in pose to the Dionysos of the Great Altar has already been pointed out.

As already noticed, portraiture, during the Hellenistic age, was brought to a



Fig. 257. *Marble Statue of a Seated Lady, probably a Portrait. Museo Torlonia. Rome.*

high degree of perfection, doubtless furnishing many motives which were used with modifications in Roman times. The pearl of the Torlonia Collection at Rome is the majestic statue of a seated lady (Fig. 257), which, judging from its style, belongs to the very opening years of this age, or about the latter part of the fourth century B.C. It seems to belong to that type, after the pattern of which ladies of Roman times frequently had themselves represented. This beautifully simple, but grand statue in Pentelic marble, was discovered, headless, in the Circus Maxentius at Rome, in 1824, where it evidently had been used by late builders to decorate the *spina* of their race-course.¹²¹⁷ Its site was so near to the channels by which the water was carried off, that doubtless, after the circus fell to ruin, the statue was exposed to that destructive element, thus losing much of the surface-finish which its fine composition would lead us

to expect. The great beauty of the neglected fragment, without head and arms, was noticed by the sculptor von Launitz, who restored it. The main restoration was the head, which is a trifle too large, and placed too much in profile to be in harmony with the pose of the remainder of the figure. But, in spite of this discord in the statue, how grandly simple are the lines, set off by the rugged support under the chair, a vigilant, fierce dog, the worthy guardian of so rare a flower! The easy and delicate grace of this frail form is brought out in beautiful contrast to the canine attendant. The impression of originality made by the statue is so strong, that it seems a Greek work of about the age of Alexander, a portrait, perhaps, of one of the ladies of that time. None of the numerous seated portrait-statues of Roman ladies equal it in simple grandeur of composition or excellence of execution; for, although following it in general pose, they vary unpleasantly from it in the direction of greater elegance and affectation, as seen, for instance, in the portrait-statue of Livia, also in the Museo Torlonia. It has been conjectured, that this statue is of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, guarded by a dog belonging to that breed, most highly prized in antiquity, coming from the land of the Molossians, of which Olympias was the heiress. This pleasing theory, which would unite the statue with the one of this queen, by Leochares, for the Philippeion at Olympia, has not been supported by the excavations, which have shown that the statues there by this master were all standing figures; and we are, therefore, obliged to await for more light on this beautiful figure, and its direct affinities.

Turning to the portrait-heads of the Hellenistic age, one of its fine original bronzes is doubtless that rare work, now in the British Museum, which was discovered at a depth of eleven feet under the mosaic pavement of the *cella* in the Temple of Apollo at Kyrene in Northern Africa (Fig. 258).^{1217a} The eye-sockets, once, doubtless, filled to imitate life, are now empty; but the marvellous details of hair and beard, and even the intimation of eyelashes, are perfect. So vigorous and realistic is the conception of this head, and its workmanship so like that of the athlete's head discovered at Olympia (p. 554), that we may with safety assign it to the same age, i.e., the third century B.C. Possibly it represents a king of Numidia, or Mauritania, provinces which bordered upon Greek Kyrene; for certainly not Greek features are rendered in these thick, protruding lips and high cheekbones.

But, besides such admirable portraits of living persons, of which the coins of this age give us as well a stately array, the poets and sages of the past received similar life-like form. This tendency was, as we already have seen, probably awakened by the great Lysippos; but the effort to portray persons of whom no iconic statues existed must have continued long after him. A recently discovered inscription at Pergamon shows that its pedestal once supported a portrait of Sappho's admirer, the lyric poet Alcaios, of centuries before. Fortunately, among existing monuments, there are a few masterpieces

of this kind, showing how, out of the sayings of these old men, their character had been read, and brought to marvellous expression. In heads of Homer, the blind old man and divinely inspired singer of Greek imagination seems represented to us bodily in *two* different types.¹²¹⁸ In the head of Hippocrates, we see the kindly and genial physician. So, probably, the ideal of Socrates was now developed under the immediate influence of Plato's vivid description of the great philosopher.

Numbers of portrait-statues of a similar character must also have existed, of

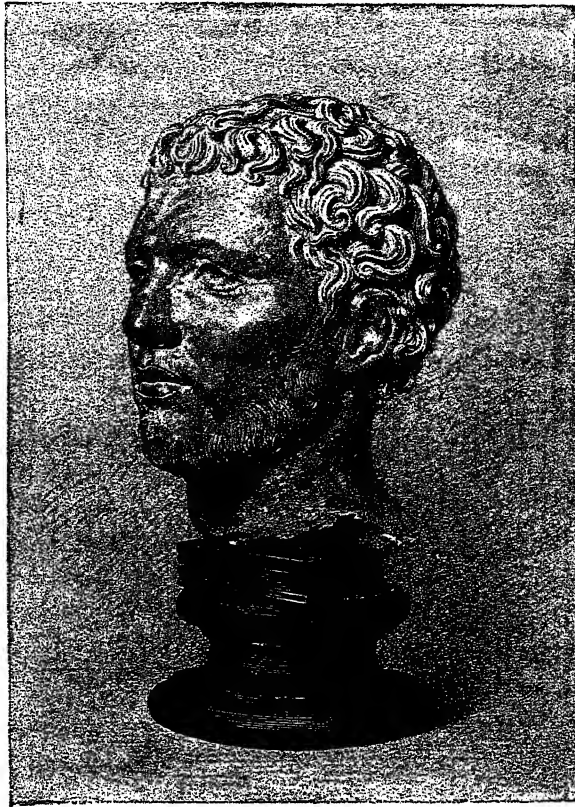


Fig. 258. Portrait Head in Bronze. From Kyrene. British Museum.

which a few are happily preserved to us. Such are the Diogenes of the Villa Albani, the remarkable seated Aristotle of the Palazzo Spada alla Regola, the so-called Anacreon and Pindar or Alcaios of the Villa Borghese, as well as the Æschines of the Naples Museum.¹²¹⁹ In all these statues, portraiture seems to be rendered in the pose and build of the whole frame, and not in the head alone, as is the case with Roman portraits. Compared, on the other hand, with portraits of the fourth century B.C., such as the Mausolos and the Sophocles, how much greater the realism here!

With these few admirable portrait-statues, we close our survey of the tre-

mendous art-activity of the Hellenistic age. From its great altar-sculptures, triumphal monuments, and imposing images of gods and men, embracing the widest range of creative powers, and destined to stamp its impress upon the art of Rome, we turn to consider sculpture under that world-conquering city, and among her neighbors and predecessors in Italy.

SCULPTURE IN ANCIENT ITALY AND UNDER
ROMAN DOMINION.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ANCIENT ITALIAN ART.

Early Greek and Phœnician Influence among Italians. — Monuments found near Bologna. — Mystery hanging over Etruscans. — Their Character as manifested in their Art. — Earliest Bronze Works Importations. — Crudeness of early Etruscan Work. — Artists. — Tombs. — Terra-cotta Masks and Figures. — Contents of Tombs. — *Cippi*. — Cinerary Urns. — Ash-chests. — Sarcophagi. — Genii. — Lack of Artistic Style. — Greek Myths represented. — Sculptured Tombstones. — Objects of pure Greek Origin.

BEFORE considering sculpture as patronized by the Romans, we may cast a glance at its condition among their predecessors and teachers in Italy, — that favored land in the midst of the seas, and peopled by various nationalities, among whom the Romans last came to play the most important part. From very early times, the Greeks had had their flourishing colonies along the shores of Southern Italy; and about them, to the north, lived Oscians, Latins, Etruscans, and probably a primitive population more or less intermingled with these different elements.^{1219a} An extensive trade with Greece, its colonies, and the remote Orient, had served as a great motor in the spread, among these early Italian peoples, of art forms and methods, which were taken on and worked up according to the national spirit.¹²²⁰ There are many indications that these early nations of Italy, prominent among whom were the Etruscans, felt the influence of Greece prior to that of Phœnicia. Thus the Etruscans adopted, not the Phœnician, but old Greek Chalkidian, mode of writing; and in the old Italian art-forms there are very few signs of copying Phœnician works, but countless tokens of the influence of very early Greek models.¹²²¹ Genuine Phœnician wares are indeed found in some of the oldest tombs, mixed with Egyptian *roba*; but, as Mommsen has well said, the people of Italy may have bought of the Phœnicians, but they learned of the Greeks.

The very ancient tombs about Bologna have recently yielded most remarkable testimonies to a very primitive Italic art, sometimes called Umbrian, and sometimes Euganean, tinged with that early Greek coloring familiar to us from the so-called Corinthian vases. Among these objects none is more characteristic than a *situla*, or pail of beaten metal (Fig. 259), the manufacture of which, by comparison with other remains, may be traced to an Euganean (Este) source.¹²²² On it are rows of relief representing various scenes, for the most

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part directly connected with religious rites: beasts are being led to sacrifice; women bear wood and vessels; two figures carry a pail like the very one on which it is pictured, and doubtless intended for wine for libations. On another row seems to be a rivalry in music between a harper and a *syrix*-player sitting astride a very curious sofa, the arms of which end in lions' heads. One of the latter holds a half-devoured human being, and the other a rabbit. The lowest tier shows most clearly Greek influence in the three monsters, resembling those often met with on so-called Corinthian vases. This Italic art is chatty and descriptive in its nature, and its forms have little affinity with earliest Etruscan monuments. Judging, therefore, from the independent character and contents of these tombs, it would seem that the Etruscans gained a footing in this northern part of the Italian peninsula at a comparatively late date.

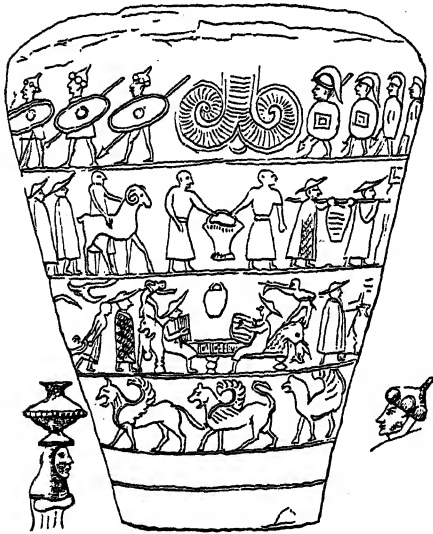


Fig. 259. Bronze *Situla*. Bologna.

Of the art of Etruria proper, much more is known, owing to the thorough excavation of its monuments, and their preservation in immense numbers. Great mystery hangs over the race-affinities and origin of this people, for their language still baffles all efforts at interpretation; but, from the resemblances between Etruscan and Asia-Minor monuments, it seems possible that they are of Eastern, perhaps Lydian, origin. Once holding much of the southern part of Italy, they were doubtless, at an early date, driven back to occupy Etruria proper, north of the Tiber. Their intensely practical charac-

ter is proved by the unsurpassed masonry of their hydraulic works, sewers, and the like; but there does not prevail, in their sculpture and painting, the sunny, poetically ideal spirit of even early Greek art. On the contrary, we find a singular combination of most realistic conceptions and renderings of life, with a weird and frightful symbolism. The Etruscan religion seems to have been "one of mysteries, of marvels, of ceremonial pomp, and observances of fear."^{1222a} One of the most striking features of their art is the frequent recurrence of demons, both good and bad. We see the terrible Charon, with forbidding visage, on paintings or sculptures belonging to the tomb; and numerous winged spirits appear on even early monuments, carrying torches, snakes, or a hammer. This Charon seems to be the pattern after which mediæval art expressed its conception of Satan, his very form being found among old pictures in the Campo Santo at Pisa.¹²²³ These old Etruscan spirits are, how-

ever, not clearly individualized ; and we are compelled to be satisfied with the general appellation, Furies, Fates, Lasa, Mean, and the like. The fondness of the Etruscans for an external symbolism is most evident in the unfailing adjuncts of wings : even the great gods themselves, such as the Greek Athena and Aphrodite, receive them. Among these strange Etruscan combinations are semi-human, semi-animal, or fish monsters, often torturing in their coils unhappy mortals, or carrying them off. These beings, according to their sex, are now called Glaucos or Skylla, but probably have no connection with Greek myth. This stern Etruscan art, with its enduring structures, and its forms of fear, seems to reflect the character of that people whose religion was one of terror, and reveals a strong but gloomy nature which revelled in dark and sinister imaginings. With such a stock forming the basis of its population, how natural it seems that Etruscan Tuscany should, with the centuries under the clarifying influence of higher civilizations, have ripened that plant which bore fruit in the "Inferno" of Dante, the frescos of Signorelli, and the Last Judgment of Michel Angelo !

The bronzes found in Etruria, from before the fifth century B.C., appear to have been luxuries of Greek or Phœnician importation. While Athens was in the full glory of the age of Pericles and Pheidias, the Etruscan style of sculpture was still primitive, and the industry in bronzes was just being developed. Even as late as 300 B.C., there is reason to believe that Etruscan art was rigid, following afar off the tremendous advances of the Greeks.¹²²⁴ Trade with Greece proper and its colonies, and the consequent change in Etruscan art, is intimated by the tradition that Demaratos, a Corinthian who had amassed wealth in trade with Etruria, fled thither when the Kypselos family came to rule, toward the end of the seventh century, bringing with him a band of fellow-refugees, among whom were the potters Eucheir and Eugrammos.¹²²⁵ Discoveries in Etruria, compared with those on Greek soil, confirm most strikingly these general facts, although they make even earlier the beginning of Greek influences ; and we seem to see the merchants of that early time, and the ships from Southern Italy, coming with choice bronzes and vases to the Etruscan coast, or bringing Corinthian, Athenian, and perhaps Milesian, wares from far-off Ionia.

To sift out what is of genuine Greek origin from among the myriads of objects found on Etruscan soil, to trace them to their sources, following the ancient lines of traffic, and to note the changes occurring in Etruscan art, are among the fascinating problems which now absorb the archæologist. In this process, the most of the vases found in such numbers in Etruscan tombs are proved to come from genuine Corinthian, Attic, and other Greek sources ; and, in like manner, the numerous far-famed Etruscan bronzes — many of which are handles and decorations — are, little by little, being given back to their rightful creators, the Greeks. Thus a nude figure below two kneeling sheep, doubtless

Apollo, the protector of the herds, and the lions rampant by the side of many tripods, are conclusively proved to be Greek importations.¹²²⁶ So, also, the famous bronze facings for a chariot, discovered in Perugia, as well as similar bronzes in Chiusi, have such strong resemblance in subject and treatment to the reliefs of the Assos temple in Asia Minor, that we may assume for them an Ionian origin. In time these foreign objects seem to have incited to imitation; the reproductions showing, however, variations on the originals, which are far from being for the better. Genuine early Etruscan bronzes are exceedingly bungling, with no striving to represent the human shape according to some norm, and no seeking after artistic style. Such are the old bronzes representing Etruscan ladies in their ungraceful, pointed headdress, the *tutulus*, with a heavy, stiff mantle dropping from the head, and wearing shoes with pointed turned-up toes; such are the very much elongated figure, recently discovered at Bologna (Fig. 260), and many others found in Etruria proper. The male figure is often nude, and wears a pointed cap. One peculiarity of these native bronzes is, that two singular prolongations are almost always attached to the feet.



Fig. 260. Bronze
Statuette of an
Etruscan Lady.
Bologna.

It is reported by ancient writers, that, in the fifth century B.C., Tyrrhenian (i. e., Etruscan) wares, no doubt for practical use as utensils, such as candelabra, trumpets, etc., came to be sought for even in Greece itself; but it is a striking fact, however it may be explained, that there is an utter lack of such relics among the troves on Greek soil.¹²²⁷ That this people were active in terra-cotta works and stone carvings also, is abundantly proved by their tombs. Of Etruscan artists, the notices are most scanty. One Volcanius of Veii is said to have been employed by Tarquinius Priscus (616-578 B.C.), to make a clay image of Jupiter, painted red, for the Capitol.¹²²⁸ Although the temples are mentioned as abounding in terra-cottas and bronzes,

still no temple-ruins have been preserved,—a fact to be explained only on the supposition that the buildings were of wood; but their terra-cotta adornments are, no doubt, adequately illustrated by the decorations of the tombs.¹²²⁹ The discovery of a great number of bronzes, from six to seven hundred, on Mount Falterona (where the Arno rises), far from any necropolis, seems to indicate that they were votive gifts, perhaps accumulated in some ancient shrine; but much about them still remains a mystery.

The discovery of monuments outside of the tombs is the great exception in Etruria; but, in supplying tomb-interiors with objects in bronze and pottery, there appears to have been the greatest profusion. The tombs were constructed so as to be secure against destruction, and vary greatly with their age and their sites near different cities. In view of the utter lack of literary remains, treating of the Etruscans and of their art, the accurate comparison of

these burial-places is of prime importance. These tombs frequently have slight architectural decorations, but seldom any external sculptural finish. Where such sculpture exists, as in the rock-tombs of Norcia, it seems to mark a late period when a developed Greek art had carried all before it. Sometimes fantastic monsters, winged lions, or sphinxes, crudely carved in stone, seem to have kept watch at the entrance; and grave-tablets seem also to have been put up, among the oldest of which is, doubtless, the warrior in the Buonarrotti collection at Florence.¹²³⁰ In the interiors, seldom does any stone-carving adorn the walls. Here are to be found instead extensive and elaborate paintings, and terra-cotta antefixes of various shapes, and bronze disks, affixed in *cassettes* in the ceiling. These terra-cotta masks and figures were once all painted, as the glaring colors on many still bear witness. Among these is a remarkable group,

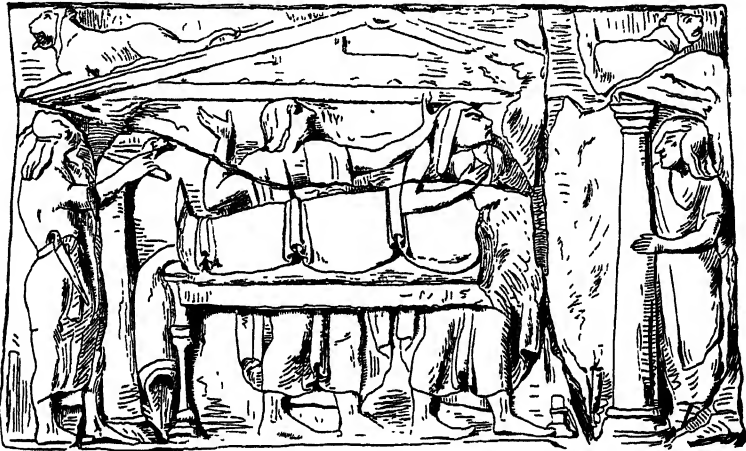


Fig. 261. Relief on an Etruscan Cippus. Mourning about the Dead. Florence.

now in Berlin, of a winged female in rapid motion, bearing in her arms a nude boy. This is probably an Etruscan version of the myth of the rape of Kephalos by Eos. The character of the drapery here, and the violence of the action, betray a comparatively early age, while the Etruscan artist was doubtless still under the influence of early Ionian art. The subject calls to mind the so-called Harpy monument in Lykia, where the souls are borne by winged beings; and the general treatment recalls similar scenes on Greek vases of the sterner style, found abundantly in Etruscan graves, and from which an Etruscan artist might have received his inspiration.^{1230a}

But how bewildering, at first glance, the contents of these graves, and how greatly varied, according to their age! Many times they were the resting-places of generations. In one, fifty-three small sarcophagi were found; and in another, at Toscanella, twenty-seven larger ones occupied a single apartment. In the older tombs, such as the famous Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and the Grotta d'Iside at Vulci, placed by Helbig about 641 B.C., genuine Eryp-

tian vases and Cypriote bowls appear, with rich gold ware, and caldrons with griffins' heads, such as those found in Olympia, all evidently of foreign importation.¹²³¹ In the Regolini Galassi tomb were found, besides, by the side of the bier, forty small earthenware figures, calling to mind by their great numbers, not by their form, the Egyptian *shabti*. The *cippi*, or round and square blocks of native stone, also found in the tombs and decorated with reliefs, and supposed to be altars, are certainly of Etruscan fabric, as are also the strange receptacles for the ashes of the dead, and the sarcophagi for those who had not been cremated. These altars are usually of fetid limestone, and are often decorated with realistic mourning scenes about the bier, the body being sometimes represented as laid out (Fig. 261). Funereal processions, and feasting, also adorn the sides. In these quaint, flat reliefs, women wear the usual *tutulus*,

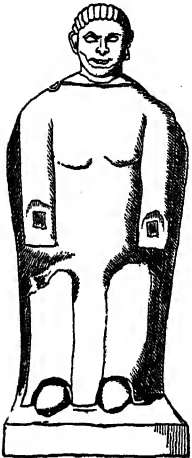


Fig. 262. Cinerary Urn
in Shape of Chair, with
Portrait of Deceased.
Florence.

or high pointed headdress, a tunic reaching to the knees, a long, heavy mantle thrown over the head, and pointed turn-up shoes. On the older sculptures, there is a crowding of figures, and a struggling to reduce the realistic detail to something like conventional style, but without the success seen in Egyptian, or in the forming stages of Greek, relief. Still more pronounced is the lack of artistic sense in the cinerary urns, receptacles for ashes, of devious and often most forbidding shapes in stone and terra-cotta. Sometimes they are hollowed stone statues with removable heads, doubtless to facilitate the pouring of libations on the thirsty ashes within: instance a standing figure now in Palermo. Often these figures are seated, and have arms and feet likewise movable.^{1231a} Very frequently the human head alone is retained, while the rest is left an imitation of a chair (Fig. 262). In these monstrous medleys, the heads are usually portraits of the deceased; and the broad realism with which

they are expressed, combined with very tolerable execution, makes us marvel that men who could execute such heads should have combined them with such repulsive and shocking shapes, utterly barren of artistic style.

Far more numerous in the tombs are the "ash-chests" (inappropriately called urns), or sarcophagi of diminutive size, and the large sarcophagi in stone and terra-cotta: marble does not seem to have been used until a very late day. Two such large sarcophagi from Cervetri (ancient Cære), one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the Louvre, show decidedly archaic forms, but have the peculiarities which marked Etruscan art throughout its course. The one in the Louvre (Fig. 263), of terra-cotta painted with gay colors, has the form of a rich couch spread with coverings and cushions.¹²³² On it recline the figures of the couple buried within, apparently engaged in converse. The lady is fully clad in a yellow tunic, and red mantle, wearing well-

laced red shoes, and the painted *tutulus* with a diadem in front. Like most Etruscans, the man wears simply a mantle wrapped loosely around him, leaving bare his strong chest. The adjuncts were all of separate material, afterwards attached, and hence their loss; but, judging from other sarcophagi, the lady is dropping ointment from a balsam-bottle into the outstretched hand of her husband, whose other hand, laid gently on her shoulder, seems to have held a fan. Owing to the size of this sarcophagus, it was made in several pieces, separately fired, and then well adjusted. At first sight, the stiff curls and obliquely set eyes of these figures give the impression of archaic severity, but we are astonished to find no mean degree of skill and freedom displayed in the forms. Thus the heads seem modelled almost directly from nature, and the



Fig. 263. Etruscan Sarcophagus from Cære (Cervetri). Louvre.

same naturalness extends to the shoes and some parts of the drapery. But there is lacking the accuracy of build of the human form, so characteristic of archaic Greek works. There is, instead, throughout a slovenly treatment, as seen in the form of the Etruscan lady, and still more evident in the drapery, so wanting in decision and sculptural style. In archaic Greek works, the form is carefully preserved; or, where folds fall over it, they hide it by severe but still agreeable lines, which, though taken from nature, are reduced to sculptural form. Here, however, there seems an attempt to copy nature exactly, and a complete failure to abstract what is truly plastic: hence the result is confused and unsatisfactory. We miss the prime element of every art, *style*, so pre-eminently characteristic of Greek and Egyptian works. Further, these lying figures offer no signs of imitation of any thing Greek, but rather the efforts of a people delighting in gross realism. There is much about the group

which gives the impression of great antiquity; but the tell-tale ornament on the front of the couch teaches us that this work cannot be so very old, its artist having been familiar with ornaments of the developed Greek vases. Borders like this occur on Attic vases of the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; and, as many of these are found in Etruscan graves, it may be inferred that the Etruscan sculptor subsequently borrowed his decorative designs directly from them.

This realism, combined with poverty of style, in Etruscan sculptures, even shows itself in monuments, in which the sculptor has gained freedom. This is to be seen on a sarcophagus in fetid limestone from Chiusi, now in the Louvre (Fig. 264).¹²³³ Here, a man of full, obese form reclines on his couch, with chest bared, and a fan in his right hand. He is surrounded by a swarm of those strange winged figures, so common in Etruscan art. One sits at his feet, occu-



Fig. 264. Etruscan Sarcophagus of Advanced Style. Louvre.

pying the couch with him; two stand at the head, and one at the foot. United with them is a nude cup-bearer, carrying his vase. Intensely portrait features mark this worthy Etruscan's figure; his chest is well and freely rendered, but his limbs and the drapery of his attendant spirits are feeble. In total disregard of all unity of build, and organic beauty, the artist has loosely inserted the heads of the accompanying spirits, so that they can be turned, and made to look in any direction. Often the lids of these sarcophagi, and the lower part, show great difference, not only in their material, but also in their art. This discrepancy is so great, that it has been conjectured that lidless sarcophagi were kept on hand for trade; the covers, with portraits of the deceased, being made as occasion demanded. Thus, the beautiful Amazon sarcophagus at Florence, painted with exquisite and truly Greek taste, has a lid showing an incongruity, equal to that between the beautifully incised scenes and the rudely figured handles on the jewellery-boxes (*ciste*) of the ancient ladies of Italy, such as have been found at Palestrina.

This intensely realistic turn of the Etruscans, and their lack of poetic and artistic feeling, is most evident in the numberless "ash-chests" or small sarcophagi, of which there are four hundred collected in the museum of Volterra alone. These may be divided broadly into two classes. The one decorated with very low relief, representing scenes from real life, expressed in archaic, conventional forms, like those on the *cippi* described above, seems to show the old Etruscan spirit, as yet little affected by contact with the Greeks. The second great class includes those in which the myths of the Greeks have been appropriated, and free forms attained.¹²³⁴ This class, doubtless, belongs to the age when Roman dominion prevailed. These reliefs are often high, and represent mythic scenes, and those from real life. Strange winged spirits now most frequently appear, bearing snakes, torches, and the like. In the mythic scenes adapted from Greek story, form and idea have become barren of poetic beauty, and give, to use Brunn's admirable figure, the impression of poetry translated into limping speech, "*poesia tradotta in orazione pedestre*." The more bloody and terrible scenes in myth are chosen, doubtless, to intimate the fearfulness of death and the terrors of the *inferno*. Thus we find represented by preference the myth of Telephos threatening to kill the child Orestes on the altar (Fig. 265), the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Paris threatened by his brothers, etc. Certain given types of figures are here grouped again and again most mechanically, with no sign of an individual artistic development of the myth, such as characterizes the works of even modest vase-painters in Greece. The Paris threatened by his brothers, and the Telephos of the altar scenes, are the very same figure differently placed; and the same is true of the Priam and Agamemnon, these being single cases out of very many. In the composition and forms, there is a lack of sound underlying principles, a clinging to the mere outward appearance. The artists seem to have used statuette models, which they arranged to suit the myth they wished to illustrate. These puppets, storming against each other or falling, they copied into relief without any regard to its stern laws, sometimes in full front view, sometimes coming out of the background, or even rushing against it. Where it was impossible to express every member,



Fig. 265. Etruscan "Ash-chest." Telephos threatens to slay Babe Orestes at Altar. Munich.

they quietly omitted a leg or an arm as it suited them. These reliefs on the chests seem to have, moreover, no vital connection with the figure reclining on the lid, which is generally a portrait, and has its extremities shockingly stunted to suit the size of the chest. The men are often half-draped, and wear twisted necklaces, or long breast-garlands, which, in nature, were worked around with wool. Their fingers are frequently laden with rings; and they often hold a *patera*, as if reclining at a banquet. Figures of ladies are fully draped, and carry, as the case may be, a fan, a tablet, a bird, a cup, an egg, or fruit, in their heavily jewelled hands. As in the case of the chair-formed ash-

receptacles, mentioned above, the head is here also frequently removable, doubtless to allow the pouring-in of libations to the deceased.

Other monuments, not occurring in Etruria proper, but in which Etruscan elements are strong, are the forty-five sculptured tombstones found in a Bologna necropolis.¹²³⁵ They are generally very large, and sculptured on both sides in low relief. The edges are adorned with peculiar spiral and geometrical ornaments, as though in imitation of metal, and recall the very ancient Mykene tombstones (p. 142). On the rows of relief which run across the face of the monument, those strange monsters appear, so often met with in Etruria. On one of these tombstones (Fig. 266) we see a hippocamp attacked by a mammoth serpent; below this, a winged spirit runs before a chariot drawn by winged steeds; and, in the lowest row, a fight is represented between a mounted



Fig. 266. Tombstone found near Bologna.
Bologna.

armed warrior, and a nude figure on foot. The forms on this stele show that they belong to a late day, when freedom had been attained, and Etruscan faiths had gained the upper hand, north of the Apennines. Their style, however, is more true to relief than that of late and pure Etruscan monuments, and consequently more pleasing.

Besides the small objects in bronze, referred to above, there are many large works found in Etruria, in which the genuine Etruscan character is not evident, and others in which Greek and Etruscan influence combined is most marked. To the former class of clearly Greek works, belongs, doubtless, the splendid Cortona lamp, decorated with lusty satyrs and quiet sirens and the famous chimæra, now in the Uffizi at Florence; both of which works bear Etruscan

inscriptions, such, however, as might easily have been scratched into a genuine Greek work, imported for some wealthy Etruscan to dedicate to his gods.^{1235a} About these two great works there is nothing of that inorganic, uncertain character, so peculiar to genuine Etruscan products. The same cannot be said of the famous wolf of the Capitol, now nursing the infant Romulus and Remus, whose baby forms were added in the fifteenth century A.D. This bronze wolf is so crude in shape, that many have believed it to be a mediæval work of about the tenth century A.D. But the excellent technique is inconceivable in the Rome of that late day, and makes it most probable that it is an Etruscan work, perhaps the very votive gift reported to have been put up in 295 B.C. at the Ruminal fig-tree in Rome. The famous life-size bronze in Florence, an orator or senator (Fig. 267), wearing a tunic (*pallium*) and high laced buskins, was discovered in 1566, near the shores of Lake Trasymene, and represents one Aulus Metellus, son of Velus, according to its Etruscan inscription. Here, although we see a sharp characterizing of the outspoken orator, and great realism in the face, there is lacking the noble rhythm and free play seen in genuine Greek portrait-figures, while a great similarity to numbers of portraits of Roman days is clearly apparent.



Fig. 267. The Etruscan Orator. Florence.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF SCULPTURE UNDER THE ROMANS.—KNOWN ARTISTS AND THEIR WORKS.

Etruscan and Greek Influence.—Wax Images of Ancestors.—Honorary Statues.—Influence of Greek Art after Roman Conquest.—Transportation of Sculptures and Paintings to Rome.—Roman Opinion of the Fine Arts.—Portraits receiving Divine Honors.—Boundless Display.—Roman Gods.—Representations of them.—Artists.—Slave Labor.—Multiplication of Copies.—Cheap Material.—Venus di Medici.—Subjects of Sculpture.—New Attic School.—Artists.—The Belvedere Torso.—Farnese Heracles.—Sosibios Vase.—Pasiteles.—Archaistic Art.—Group called Orestes and Electra.—Venus Genetrix.—Artists from Asia Minor.—Borghese Warrior.—Reliefs.

THE Romans, although belonging to the same great stock whence sprang the Greeks, do not appear, like them, to have been artistically a gifted people. Heirs of the civilization of Etruria, they long received from the Etruscans their art-impulses, their own pre-eminently practical tendencies being directed to developing the ideas of state, good government, and conquest. The Etruscans, we are told, built for them their earlier temples, and executed their statues in terra-cotta and bronze. Direct Greek influence, however, must also have come in at an early date; since two masters, Damophilos and Gorgasos, from Sicily, about 493 B.C., adorned the temple of Ceres in Rome with sculptures and paintings, and, soon after, monuments to deity were put up.¹²³⁶ But during the centuries when Athens was at its height, when a Pheidias and a Praxiteles were executing their immortal works, we must not imagine that ideal sculpture was encouraged in Rome. The custom of raising statues and colossi to the gods, as consecrated gifts, was not practised, as it was in Greece, until after the Samnite wars, about 290 B.C.

The peculiarly Roman employment of sculpture appeared, not in connection with gods, but with the Romans themselves, and in the line of portraiture, showing how closely they followed the spirit of their Etruscan schoolmasters. Emphatically illustrating this spirit, were the wax masks (*imagines*), or portraits, of the deceased ancestors, kept by patricians as a special ornament in their houses, and wreathed with laurel on great feast-days.¹²³⁷ On funeral occasions, the important feature was the "procession of the ancestry," when the deceased was often also represented by an image borne in the procession as living. Here persons, often actors who had the size and shape of the departed ancestors, wore these masks, as well as the garments of the deceased. Had the ancestor

to be represented been a censor, then he who personified him, disguised in a mask counterfeiting the deceased, wore a purple toga ; for a curule magistrate, his shadow wore a white one, bordered with purple ; for a victorious general, a purple toga was worn, embroidered with gold. Thus clad in the insignia of office, and mounted on a high chariot, the ancestor appeared bodily, as it were, accompanied by his lictors. The great importance attached to these shows, and the luxury attendant upon them, appear from the fact, that sometimes the carriages carrying these effigies were numbered by the hundred. At the funeral of Marcellus, there were said to have been six hundred ; and at that of Julia Tertullia, wife of Caius Cassius and sister of Marcus Brutus, the ancestry of twenty patrician families, all related to the deceased, are said to have taken part.¹²³⁸ A few notices left us of the figures of the deceased, represented so as to imitate life, show how intensely realistic a vein there was in the Roman fancy. Julius Cæsar's figure even moved about, showing his wounds, as the bier passed by. And effigies of the deceased figured, we know, at the funerals of Paulus Æmilius, Sulla, Augustus, Pertinax, and Septimius Severus.¹²³⁹

But not only in this semi-barbarous funereal manner did the old Romans practise the plastic art. It was also an ancient and prevalent custom, to erect honorary statues in bronze. The oldest of these can be traced back to the days of the Decemvirs, about 450 B.C. ; and, strange to say, this earliest honorary statue was put up to a Greek who had acted as interpreter to the Decemvirs, in framing the ten tables of the law, the elements of which had been collected in Greece.¹²⁴⁰ Romans soon put up statues to themselves, and, by about 300 B.C., many statues to the great men of the republic had been erected ; at the close of the second Punic war, about 201 B.C., we learn that the Capitol and Forum were more than full of such honorary figures. In 179 B.C., a part of these were removed ; and in 158 B.C., the censors had all statues of magistrates, not elected by the people, taken away from about the Forum. So common was the custom of erecting such statues at that time, that Cato, who lived about 150 B.C., is said to have preferred to be asked why no statues had been erected to him, rather than why it had been done. He deeply lamented, that, in the provinces, statues to women, even, were put up ; but must soon have seen the evil creep into Rome itself, where an honorary figure was erected to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

But familiarity with the creations of Greece, and the sight of the great Hellenistic cities of the east, were destined to introduce many new elements into the art of the stern capital, and make it a mirror of what had gone before, a continuation, as it were, of Hellenistic art in form, subject, and spirit. The change could have been no sudden one, but must have gone on slowly, as Roman legions, like a vast net, little by little encompassed the lands where Greek culture had come to bloom, and gathered home the fruits it had borne.¹²⁴¹ Marcellus was the first to bring Greek works of art before the

Romans on a large scale. During the second Punic war, in 212 B.C., he stripped Syracuse of the most of its sculptures and paintings to adorn his triumph. Some of these he afterwards used to beautify a temple to Honos and Virtus, which he built; some were scattered through other parts of the city. When charged with rapacity, he replied, that he had done it to adorn Rome, and introduce a taste for the fine arts and elegance of the Greeks; and he even sent presents to the Greek shrines at Samothrake. In the following year, 211 B.C., the entire population of Capua was sold into slavery; and to the Roman college of priests was granted the disposition of its monuments, as well as those of all the cities of Campania. Doubtless the most of these treasures of ancient Greek art also found their way to Rome. In 210 B.C., Fabius Maximus conquered Tarentum, removing thence rich treasures to Rome, among which was the celebrated colossus of Heracles by Ly-sippos. But Greece herself was not long to escape. In 197 B.C., T. Quinctius Flaminius conquered Philip of Macedon at Kynoskephalai, taking from him the treasure which that king had himself stolen from other parts of Greece. Three whole days were required for Flaminius' triumphal procession to pass into Rome; the first day being occupied with the introduction of bronze and marble statues alone, and the second taken up with vases, reliefs, and other minor works. A few years later, 189 B.C., M. Fulvius Nobilior conquered the Aitolians and Ambrakia, that city which had been the residence of the art-loving Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros. From this favored spot, as well as from other places in Greece, the Roman general carried off an almost incredible amount of booty which should make his triumph even richer than those which had preceded. We are told, that he also brought Greek artists with him, to direct the artistic arrangements of his celebration. In his triumphal procession were seen two hundred and eighty-five statues in bronze, as well as two hundred and thirty in marble. Among this army of bronze and marble captives, was a bronze group of the Muses, which the conqueror consecrated in a temple he built to Heracles. In the same year came another triumph held by L. Cornelius Scipio, after his victory at Magnesia in Asia Minor. This procession was so laden with choice works, graven vases, and the like, that it is especially mentioned by the ancients as awakening in the Romans a taste for Greek works. About twenty years later, Paulus Æmilius made a most brilliant entry into Rome, after having conquered Perseus of Macedonia, at Pydna, 168 B.C. Three days long it lasted; and two hundred and fifty chariots, full of works of art, statuary, and painting, could scarcely pass in on the first great day. Among these one statue is mentioned,—an Athena by Pheidias. This general's appreciation of the Greeks appears from the honor he awarded Pheidias' Zeus, when in Olympia, as well as from the fact that he had his sons instructed by Greek painters and sculptors. Another twenty years passed; and Metellus Macedonicus, in 148 B.C., celebrated his

victory over Pseudophilippos, by a triumph in which were very many statues from Dion in Macedonia. Among these was Lysippos' celebrated group in honor of Granikos, representing Alexander and twenty-five mounted warriors. Some years later, Greece was absorbed into the Roman empire, as the province of Achaia, after Corinth had been totally destroyed by Mummius, 146 B.C. On that occasion, great numbers of choice works of art perished by fire, and through the barbarity of the Roman soldiery. The latter, it is said, were seen playing at dice on one of the masterpieces of painting, of the value of which Mummius had no idea, until, at the sale, a large price was offered for it by Attalos of Pergamon. Mummius thereupon decided to keep it, and afterwards consecrated it in the Temple of Ceres at Rome. Mummius' ignorance in art-matters is also forcibly illustrated by his warning to those who should convey the plundered works of art to Rome, that, if any thing were lost or injured, they must replace it. After the conquest of Corinth, sanctity of place does not seem to have been regarded, and the passion to possess works of Greek art spread from general to common soldier. The ruthless robberies of Sulla and his army, in the war waged against Mithridates, are notorious, when Athens, Olympia, Delphi, and Epidauros were plundered. During the siege of Athens, money failing him, Sulla made no scruple to despoil the temples of their treasure, to buy the devotion of the soldiery to his cause. During his campaign in Asia Minor, the legions, down to the common man, were seized with a passion for plunder, and came to know the value of works of art. About the middle of the first century B.C., pirates swarmed the Greek seas, and did untold damage, plundering the celebrated temples of Apollo at Miletos, of Hera at Samos and Argos, of Asclepios at Epidauros, and of the Cabeiri at Samothrake, as well as many others. But this barbarity was brought to an end by Pompey, who then fought and overcame Mithridates. His triumphal entry into Rome, after these successes, in 61 B.C., was a display of spoils and trophies such as Rome had never before witnessed. Banners, borne in the procession, announced that he had taken eight hundred vessels, one thousand fortresses, and nine hundred towns. There were figures of gold, rare engraved gems, as well as pearls, and many other valuables, among which was a celebrated Heracles by Myron. But this temporary passage of conquering generals was not alone in draining Greece and Asia Minor of their treasures. The provinces were governed by proconsuls, who were supposed in strictness to serve the state gratuitously, as a public duty, but were practically left free to remunerate themselves by extortion. As an interest in art had now dawned, many of these officials sought to ingratiate themselves with their fellow-citizens by ransacking temples and rebellious cities for treasure to adorn the Roman capital. This thirst for spoils often led to acts of hateful cruelty; where persuasions failed, punishments and tortures were used. Verres carried matters with so high a hand, that Cicero was called out to be his accuser,

although Cicero's own son-in-law, Cn. Dolabella, is said to have plundered the temples of Asia. Verres accompanied the latter to his government in Kilikia, and on the way passed through Sikyon, carrying off sculpture and paintings. At Athens, Verres shared with Dolabella the plunder of the temple of Athena, at Delos that of Apollo; and at Chios, Erythrai, Halicarnassos, and elsewhere, he perpetrated similar acts of rapine. Perga boasted a statue of Diana, coated with gold: Verres scraped off the gilding. But in Sicily he seems to have committed his greatest outrages: wherever he stopped, he extorted gems, vases, and trinkets from his host, or from whomsoever he heard possessed them.

The emperors now followed in this work of removal of treasure to Rome, and at the same time caused their own portraits to be erected in the conquered provinces; Augustus, Caligula, and Nero being most prominent. Many of the statues brought by Augustus to Rome were of the quaint, archaic style: thus works of the old masters of Chios, Bupalos and his brothers, who flourished about 550 B.C., adorned, we are told, "all Augustus' buildings." At the entrance to his Forum was a statue to Jupiter Tonans, by Endoios. On the Capitol stood the Dioscuri, from the hand of Hegias, who was Pheidias' first teacher. Besides such quaint old masters, Myron, of the transition style, was represented. From his group of Zeus, Athena, and Heracles, brought from Samos by Anthony, Augustus saved out the Zeus, and built for it a chapel on the Capitol; while the remainder he returned to the original shrine. Four steers, by Myron, stood around an altar in the portico of Augustus' Apollo temple on the Palatine; and an Aphrodite, by Pheidias, was placed in the Portico of Octavia. Among these plundered treasures, now set up in Rome, far more numerous than the works of the age of Pheidias appear to have been those from the ensuing century. Not only Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippos themselves, but also their scholars and contemporaries, were represented. In the Apollo temple on the Palatine were, for instance, a great Apollo by Scopas, a Diana by Timotheos, and a Leto by Praxiteles' son Kephisodotos. This temple must have been a museum in itself, the subjects collected seeming to have reference to the great god of the building. Here were statues from the time of the highest bloom of art: quaint, archaic works adorning its architecture; Myron's vivid representations of animal life, its portico; while its ivory doors, the work of Pergamon artists, were decorated with the fall of the Gauls, and of the family of Niobe at the hand of Apollo. At this time the great Niobe group was brought from Asia Minor by Cn. Sosius, to be dedicated in a temple to Apollo; and Scopas' Achilles group was, doubtless, also now brought to Rome. Marcus Agrippa placed in public view, as a decoration of his baths, Lysippos' Apoxyomenos; and Asinius Pollio gathered into his choice collection a Canephoros by Scopas, a Dionysos by Eutychides, an Aphrodite by Kephisodotos (Praxiteles' son), besides Mænads, Silens, etc., by the great master himself, and that Hellenistic work, now known as the Farnese Bull, by

masters from Tralles. During the reign of Tiberius, Augustus' successor, there seems to have been no extensive removal of works from Greece. It was, however, renewed by Caligula, who dealt barbarously with statues already in Rome. Many of them he beheaded, to be restored with his own portrait; and the statues of great men, which Augustus had moved from the over-filled Capitol to the Field of Mars, he broke to pieces. He ordered the best statues from all the Greek cities to be sent to Rome; and Praxiteles' famous Eros seems to have been one of the works now robbed from Greece in compliance with this command. So high-reaching was Caligula's ambition, that he even sought to have Pheidias' Olympian Zeus removed; but tradition reports that he was supernaturally prevented. The workmen, while attempting to remove the statue, were frightened away by a peal of scornful laughter from its ivory lips; and the ship which was to convey it to Rome was destroyed by lightning. Claudius, Caligula's successor, does not appear ever to have encouraged the robbing of Greek shrines, and even returned Praxiteles' Eros to Thespiæ. But Nero abundantly made up for all such omissions during his reign of fourteen years from 54 to 68 A.D., while his destruction of works of art was on a far greater scale than that by Caligula. Countless were the priceless works of art that now perished, as Rome became the prey of the flames, to gratify this madman's whim. He imagined himself a great musician and athlete, and contended with professional artists in Rome. In Greece he offered himself as a candidate in the games, and, though defeated, the flattery of the spectators adjudged him the prize. So insane was his jealousy of victors who had won long centuries before his day, that he gave vent to it by having their statues knocked to pieces. After the conflagration of Rome, he feigned commiseration for his subjects, and began the reparation of streets and public buildings at his own expense; but was far more lavish in the erection of an enormous palace called the Golden House.¹²⁴² The entrance was sufficiently large to admit a colossus of the emperor one hundred and twenty feet high; the galleries were each a mile long, and the whole was covered with gold. The roofs of the dining-halls represented the firmament in motion, while perfumes were continually descending in showers. Within the vast enclosure, artificial lakes, gardens, and baths were profusely adorned with gold, precious stones, and whatever was rare. For the adornment of this palace and his other buildings, his agents collected statues in immense numbers in Greece and Asia Minor; bringing from Delphi alone, five hundred bronze statues of victors and Greek gods. Nero's freedman Acratus is said to have travelled almost everywhere where statues could be obtained.

The soil was indeed a strange one, to which, for a period of three hundred years, the products of Greek art were thus being transplanted. At first the stern old Romans frowned upon that which was the very life of the Greeks,

as a dangerous luxury. It was complained, that the people were led to waste their time in art-gossip ; and Seneca considered art a dissipation which mankind would be better off without. Cicero disclaimed all interest in art-matters ; and Virgil, with true Roman pride, said that his nation was called to rule the world, and not to put a soul into bronze, or from the marble draw out the features of life. But the Greek literature, to which the Romans now turned with great zeal, directed their attention to the work of the statuary and painter ; the rhetorical treatises abounding in allusions to the fine arts. It became a part of a polite education, to be informed about the masterpieces, and to be familiar with Greek epigrams, convenient modes of criticism, where genuine interest in the object was lacking. It was considered good tone, that one should have seen the most celebrated works ; and Tacitus, no doubt, betrays the prevailing spirit when he says, "One having looked at a statue or picture once goes away satisfied, and never returns again." In travelling, the Roman's chief interest was for historical associations. Cicero makes Atticus say, "Even my beloved Athens delights me, not so much by her buildings and works of old masters, as by the memories of her great men, where they lived, where they sat, and where they were accustomed to pass their time in converse ; also their graves I look at with interest." But the gloriously laid out cities of the Hellenistic age, with their wealth of art adorning temple and palace, met the eyes of the Romans wherever they went, and could not fail in time to arouse them, if only from love of display, to emulate such examples. Even in the days of the republic, matters had gone so far that in Sulla's time statuary and painting were as necessary a part of the furniture of a rich man's house as his tapestries and silver. Cicero himself is a striking instance of the power of this fashion. Although disclaiming an interest in art, he had Atticus send him many statues for his villa at Gaeta, and to fit out his Tusculum villa, where he planned an academy. He especially desired reliefs, to be let into the wall, evidently those pictures in stone which decorated Hellenistic palaces ; but he paid liberally for statues as well, although complaining sometimes of their cost. But Cicero was only one of many. It was said of Julius Cæsar and of a certain Damasippus, that they bought old statues as though they were insane. One Domitius Tullus had stowed away in his magazines so great a store of glorious works, about which he had, however, concerned himself but little, that, the very day on which he bought a park, he was able fully to furnish it with statuary. Did a rich man's house burn down, his friends made good his loss by presenting him with every variety of famous old works. Juvenal's expression, "marble gardens," is made vivid by Martial's description of a fountain in the garden of Arruntius Stella, about which stood a crowd of marble figures of beautiful youth, while in a grotto near by was to be seen a Heracles. Such pictures as that given of the villa of Pollio Felix at Sorrento, looking off on to the Gulf of Naples, with marble-lined courts, and sculptures of old

masters, and portraits of generals, poets, and philosophers, standing about, show emphatically how decorative a part was played in Roman residences by Greek art, torn from its temples and shrines. Villas where statuary and painting did not form the chief attraction were exceptions: such were several of Augustus' dwellings, in which rare antiquities and natural-history curiosities took their place. This fashion of decorating, set by the rich, was followed by those less favored with means, who are compared, by the poets, to the frog who strives to inflate himself to the size of an ox. As costly originals could not be purchased by many, nor even marble and bronze copies, cheaper materials, such as terra-cotta and plaster, came into extensive use. Tradition tells us that plaster busts adorned the libraries and studies of many. Thus, in the houses of the would-be stoics and late philosophers, plaster heads were to be seen of Democritos, Chrysippos, Zeno, Plato, and others, with their shaggy beards. The discovery, in the provincial city of Pompeii, in the house of Lucrezio, of a peristyle adorned with twelve large and ten smaller statues, hints to us the prevalence of the custom of thus adorning private mansions, which was continued as late as the end of the fourth century A.D. Had the more extensive villas on Roman soil, such as that of Mæcenas, and that of Hadrian at Tivoli, been excavated with plan, and not ransacked with ignorant greed through many generations, how vivid would have been our picture of all this plastic decoration, which indeed was co-extensive with Roman dominion, as ruins testify!

But our idea would be inadequate indeed, of the market for genuine Greek sculpture and its copies, did we imagine that private buildings consumed the major part. How feeble is the effort of the imagination to conceive the number and magnificence of the public edifices which shot up from Roman soil after the conquest of the Greeks! Here statues, singly and in groups, adorned the niches, intercolumniations, and roofs, filled the pediments, and lined temple steps, theatres, basilicas, baths, gateways, bridges, balustrades, and arches of all kinds. Like Rome itself, all the provincial cities had their forums, crowded with temples and colonnades, their capitols crowned by the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as well as their theatres, amphitheatres, baths, circuses, — all adorned with sculpture. In 58 B.C., Scaurus, it is said, used for his temporary wooden theatre in Rome, three hundred and sixty columns of foreign marbles from Euboia and Melos, besides three thousand bronze statues. Agrippa, while ædile, 33 B.C., decorated his extensive water-works with four hundred marble columns, and three hundred marble and bronze statues; his work to be continued by others. Domitian built so many passages and triumphal arches, crowded with groups of statuary, *quadrigæ*, and insignia of war, that he became the object of ridicule. On one monument figured on his coins, the spaces of the arches are adorned with medallion busts; reliefs and sculptures occupy the roof and *attica*; while two chariots, drawn by two elephants, guided

by the colossal form of the emperor, crown the building, doubtless representing him as endowed with divine honors.^{1242a} How eloquent are the ruined witnesses to this profuse union of statuary with public buildings, as evident from sculptures of the great Altar of Peace built by Augustus, the Arch of Titus, and the numerous ruins of Trajan's noble monuments, of Nerva's forum, and of many others! This architectural sculpture, borrowing its subjects from Greek mythology, as well as from the exploits of generals and the like, found partial expression in pictures in stone, illustrating successful campaigns of individual generals on triumphal arches or lofty columns, and sometimes commemorated escapes from danger on chapel-walls.

A wide field was offered also by the portrait-statue; and that including all classes, the general, the lady, the slave, the patrician, and the plebeian. The Roman came legitimately to this taste in art, having imbibed it from the Etruscans; but, doubtless, it was thoroughly congenial to his vainglorious nature. The portraits of emperors were put up in every city and camp to receive divine honors. The senate decreed statues to Cæsar in all the temples of Rome. To Augustus, the number of bronze and marble portrait-statues while he still lived must have been innumerable. He himself tells us, that he had melted down eighty silver statues put up to him, and in their stead had placed golden gifts in the Temple of Apollo, principally tripods bearing his own and the donors' names. These statues in silver included standing and equestrian figures, besides others in chariots drawn by four steeds.

The numerous temples to the emperors show how extensive this cult, even during their lifetime. Temples to Augustus have been discovered in remote parts of the Roman Empire, at Ankyra, Mylasa, and recently at Pergamon in Asia Minor. After death, religious services were still continued with great pomp, especially at Rome. The blazing funeral pyre, from the summit of which an eagle soared, was symbolical of the *apotheosis*; no sooner had the soul thus appeared to fly, to dwell with the Eternals, than the cult of the new emperor-god was established. A temple was built with its altars and *pulvinar* for the repose of his image, honored with gifts of food and drink; a priest or *flamen* was appointed; the translated was proclaimed Divus Pater, and his statue was placed in the shrine ever to receive worship.¹²⁴³ Portraits of deified emperors appeared in processions, and especially at the Roman games. In the circus they were placed alongside of the statues of the gods; and in solemn processions, as symbols of deification, they appeared riding on chariots drawn by elephants. On the coins of Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian, is seen a *tensa* (chariot with sacred images) drawn by two and sometimes four horses, or by elephants, and carrying the emperor with a Victory or some other symbol in his hands.^{1243a} Caligula at first forbade the worship of his statues, but afterwards withdrew the order; and soon, as Josephus says, all the conquered cities had his image along with those of the gods. Domitian filled

Rome with his gorgeous portraits, sometimes colossal statues. These were of gold and silver in the Capitol, where only those of a prescribed weight were admitted, and we are told that the streets were not wide enough for the never-ceasing passage of sacrificial beasts to be offered before these images of the emperor. To these figures of deified emperors, were, besides, brought incense and wine ; and thither the persecuted fled for asylum. Such imperial portrait-statues were found, moreover, not in Rome alone, but in every city. When Pliny the younger bought new lands, he found so many of these images upon them, that he obtained permission from Trajan to build a new temple at Como for their reception, and added that of Trajan to the number. In Tarraco, in Spain, a prominent man was purposely elected to keep in order the statues of the deified Hadrian. More than a hundred years after the death of Marcus Aurelius, his figures were seen in the possession of many families, among the household gods, so greatly was he beloved. The Antonines were to be seen, even in all places of business, and in workshops, but often most rudely carved. Special temples were also erected to the whole sacred number of emperors, in which the entire cycle in portrait-figures was represented ; and, as the number increased, fresh statues were constantly added.

Members of the royal family, the empress, the heir-apparent, and even the favorites of the ruler, were often thus honored, and their portraits made objects of worship. Hadrian put up portrait-figures of his heir, A. Verus, in all the empire ; and the extent of the cult of Hadrian's favorite Antinous is well known. On the accession to the throne of a new emperor, it was customary to have portrait-statues erected to his deceased relatives. Antoninus Pius willingly accepted statues, decreed by the senate to his departed grandparents, father, mother, and brother ; and Marcus Aurelius honored with statues even the friends of his parents after their death. In like manner, Severus put up images to his deceased ancestors, as well as to his first wife. As an illustration of the extent to which this honor was conferred upon court officials, may be mentioned the case of Severus' favorite, Plautianus, to whom so many more, and larger, portrait-statues were erected, in and out of Rome, than to the emperor himself, that at last it aroused the jealousy of the latter, and caused the fall of this courtier. For his teacher, Fronto, Marcus Aurelius requested of the senate one statue ; and for another, several. Rulers of provinces also came in for a share in honorary portrait-statues. Cicero writes, that in Kilikia he had refused "statues, temples, and *quadrigæ*." Verres obliged the communes of Sicily to erect statues not only to himself, but to his father, and son, a mere lad ; and so great was their number, that they seemed to equal what he had carried off of older works. In Rome were to be seen gilded bronze equestrian statues to Verres, put up by Roman merchants. Sub-officials in the provinces, and successful military men, were frequently rewarded by statues in public squares ; and private individuals often received a like honor from their fellow-

townsmen, as a recognition of their services. Along the west side of the forum of Pompeii, a city of only about thirty thousand inhabitants, have been found fourteen portrait-statues, to say nothing of numbers discovered in other parts of the buried city. Great learning was also thus recognized, as in the case of a statue on the capitol at Beneventum to Orbilius Pupillus, who died in great want, in an attic, at the advanced age of nearly a hundred years. It represented him as wrapped in a Greek mantle, and having two book-holders by his side. Statues were also put up as a consolation to the bereaved. In Brixia, the commune, on the occasion of the death of a child six years five months and five days old, ordered an equestrian figure of gilded bronze to be put up, to comfort the mourning father. Frequently these statues to humble individuals were multiplied to increase the marks of respect.

It is a curious fact, that very often the expense of such statues was defrayed by the person to whom they were erected; the expression being frequently found in inscriptions, "Satisfied with the honor, he paid the cost." It became customary for Romans even to put up statues and monuments to themselves; and although the senate, as early as 45 B.C., limited the privilege for the Forum, it was allowed in temples and private grounds. One Regulus, although notoriously miserly, built limitless colonnades in his garden on the Tiber, and lined the shores with statues of himself. To his son, who died while still a lad, he raised many statues and likenesses; having him portrayed by different artists, not only in bronze, silver, gold, marble, and ivory, but also in encaustic and other painting. Statues were also put up by the client to his patron, by freedmen to masters, often in their dwellings. No less than thirteen pedestals of statues to L. Licinius Secundus, underling of L. Licinius Sura, exist in Barcelona, three of which were put up by as many Spanish towns, four by friends, and one by a freedman. How boundless was the ambitious display in *funeral* monuments, even with subalterns, is well illustrated by a palace-like tomb erected to his wife Priscilla, by the freedman, Abarcantus, Domitian's secretary. In this tomb she appeared several times, — in the form of the goddesses Ceres and Ariadne in bronze, and as Maia and Venus in marble.

In addition to their few native Italic gods, the Romans adopted in thought and form many Greek deities, so that their Pantheon became most crowded. In this process of adaptation, Jupiter came to represent Zeus, Minerva stood for Athena, Venus for Aphrodite, Diana for Artemis, Salus for Hygieia, and so on. The specifically Italic god, Janus, at first represented as double-headed, was doubtless but a reflex of the double-headed Greek *hermæ*; later, Janus came to appear as a full figure, with key and staff, or with the fingers of one hand bent to represent CCC, and those of the other to represent LXV, thus making up the number three hundred and sixty-five, the days of the year, with which he was intimately connected: but of how little importance this Roman Janus

was to art, appears from the fact that the figure is to be traced only on gems. A prominent feature in the Roman faith was the world of minor spirits, guardian genii, who came to existence with each individual house, family, state, and people. In comparison with these, the more poetical rural genii, such as fauns, Silvanus, etc., were of less importance. Even each god was supposed to have its genius; but so impalpable was this faith, that it was late before these beings took form. Usually they were represented by a snake; but, in time, took on human shape, sometimes bearded, sometimes youthful, and often carrying a cornucopia. After Aurelian's time, the genius of Rome was represented on the Forum in gold, gilded bronze, or silver. To supply the extensive demand for such genii, shops and factories existed in great numbers behind the Temple of Castor. Near of kin to these genii, were the Lares and Penates, or household gods. The former are spoken of as winged, and may have had many attributes; but their usual form was that of a youth with his tunic girded short about him, and flying out.¹²⁴⁴ They were, moreover, often supplied with a drinking-horn in one hand, and a saucer or vase in the other. These small images, preserved in numerous repetitions, were usually of wood or of bronze in the country, and of stone in the city. They were kept in small chapels, where the family came together for morning prayer. On festive occasions they were almost buried in flowers, and received their share of every meal. After the first plateful had been eaten, silence was observed, and the portion for the Lares was put upon a small plate (*patella*) on the hearth; then it was poured into the flames, with the ejaculation *Dii propitii*, after which the meal was continued. But these Lares do not appear to have awakened any great artistic creative power.

The foreign gods worshipped in Rome seem to have been either adopted directly from their various lands, or to have been variations on types developed by the Greeks. Among the most interesting recent excavations in Rome, are those made in 1883, in the Via di S. Ignazio, leading to S. Maria Sopra Minerva, uncovering much of the ancient Iseum and Serapeum, where Egyptian deities and art prevailed.¹²⁴⁵ This temple was not only "built in the Egyptian style of architecture, but with materials brought over piece by piece from one or more Egyptian temples." "Tiberius condemned the priests here employed to crucifixion, burned down the shrine, and threw the statue of the goddess into the Tiber." Nero, however, restored it; and succeeding emperors did not fall behind him in devotion to the foreign gods, collecting in this temple many works of genuine Egyptian as well as of Græco-Roman art, treating of Egyptian subjects. Here a genuine sphinx of Queen Hatasoo, now in the Braccio Nuovo collection, and a very fine one of Amasis, were found; as well as two grand lions, now reposing at the foot of the Capitol. Among the other treasures of this Egyptian shrine in the very heart of Rome, were the Nile of the Braccio Nuovo, and the Tiber of the Louvre.

By this glimpse at the amount, variety, and uses of sculpture in Rome, we are naturally drawn to think of the men who must there have executed the works required. Were they great creative masters, borne on the shoulders of popular sympathy and interest? or were they strangers in a strange land? Judging from the small number of Romans mentioned as sculptors, their capabilities in this direction would seem to have been very limited. The sculptors were, we know from inscriptions and history, mainly Greeks, and seem to have been looked upon with little respect by the proud Romans. Seneca says, "While the figures of the gods are worshipped, those who make them are despised;" and Cicero, that the Romans left art to foreigners and slaves, that they might find in it forgetfulness of, and consolation in, their servitude.¹²⁴⁶ It was customary for the Romans to own families of slaves, who should decorate their houses, and work for others as well, thus becoming remunerative to their masters. When an artist slave was freed, it was often done on the condition that he should continue to work for his former owner.¹²⁴⁷ Inscriptions on two statues in the British Museum state that they are by a freedman. How little the spirit of these men was appreciated by the practical Romans, is shown by the enumeration of a slave's faults, one of which consisted in being too fond of looking at pictures. The fact that slave-labor was so much in vogue, doubtless, explains in part the great cheapness and vast amount of the work. In the time of Alexander the Great, three thousand drachms (about five hundred and ninety-two dollars) had been the average price of a statue; but in the time of Hadrian, a bronze statue could be obtained for from one thousand to five hundred drachms.¹²⁴⁸ Under Diocletian (300 A.D.), bronze statues were paid for by weight, about four drachms being reckoned to the pound.

But how great must necessarily have been the change in the position and character of art, no longer the spontaneous outgushing of a free spirit, but torn from its native soil, and serving to gratify the caprice of foreign taskmasters! The ceaseless drain upon Greece, for the works of great masters of old, in time had its effect, for the mine of Greek originals was not exhaustless; and so innumerable copies were made, and often palmed off for originals. This practice seems to have been common, even in the early part of the empire; the poet Phædrus of that time telling us that he affixed the name *Æsop* to his fables, just as many artists did that of *Praxiteles* to their marbles. Ideal art, at least, was confined, then, to reproduction; its types being traceable to the happier, more creative days of the past. One sculptor inscribes on his statue of *Aphrodite*, that it is a copy of the *Aphrodite* of *Troas*, a work otherwise unknown to us; but far the greater number omit to mention the works they have copied. *Agrippa*, according to *Josephus*, adorned the whole Phœnician city *Berytus* (modern *Beirut*) with copies of old works. In the *Augusteum* built by *Herod* in *Cæsarea*, the colossal statue of the emperor was a copy of *Pheidias'* Olympic *Zeus*, which, *Josephus* says, did not fall short of the original;

and the accompanying Roma was a copy of Polycleitos' Hera at Argos. A glance through the exhaustive work by Matz and Duhn, where works found in Rome are classified, and page after page is taken up with descriptions of the same subject and its variations, enables us, partially at least, to realize the extent of this reproductive art.¹²⁴⁹ Many of these works are decidedly inferior; but we are reconciled to the fact, since through them the archæologist is often able, by skilful combinations, to trace an original of the palmy days of Greek art. Scarcely a god or goddess of Greek mythology is left unrepresented. The statues of Aphrodite and Dionysos, with their followers, are, however, most frequent, being by their nature better adapted to cheerful decoration. Thus, over thirty statues of the satyr, traceable to Praxiteles' original, exist in various galleries, all being executed according to a uniform scale of proportions.¹²⁵⁰ Too often these works of Roman art have fallen into the hands of "shallow botchers," who have so mutilated them with would-be restorations, that their original beauty, to say nothing of significance, is lost. It is often a difficult matter, or even an impossibility, to know what is restored in these works, until the archæologist, on his ladder, has examined them with finger and knife, and traced in archives the modern hands through which they have passed. In general, it seems that the better statues are the earlier ones. Those of Hadrian's time, for instance, are usually marked by a very strong polish, and more academic character than the works of the previous centuries.

Among these many graceful variations on older works, none is better known than the Venus di Medici (Fig. 268), doubtless one of the very distant changes rung on Praxiteles' great original at Cnidos. Whether this Medici Venus was discovered in the gardens of Nero on the Tiber, or in the Portico of Octavia, as was long supposed, is uncertain; but its inscription, stating it to be by Cleomenes, son of Apollonios, is proved by Michaelis to be a falsification of the seventeenth century A.D.¹²⁵¹ On the removal of the statue to Florence, it was seriously broken; and its restoration was undertaken, after 1677, by Ercole Ferrata, to whom are due the lean fingers, so out of keeping with the dainty and soft feet. Venus here, in variation from the original by Praxiteles, is not represented as engaged with the bath, all intimations of which are wanting; but we simply see a nude female looking out into the world, and covering her-



Fig. 268. *The Venus di Medici.*
Uffizi. Florence.

self with both hands. Associated with her is a dolphin, referring, perhaps, to her connection with the sea. The dolphin is ridden by a child, who serves to support her, and may be Venus' son Cupid. But the Cupid is foreign to the original Greek ideal of the goddess, as may be inferred from her figure on Cnidian coins; and his shape is here strangely at variance with the graceful female form. With all there is of grace and excellence in the well-modelled members of this very celebrated statue, the coquettishness of this nude figure is not veiled from us, as it stands before us entirely divorced from all suggestive surroundings. Moreover, the surface of the statue has lost the freshness which it might have had, had not Ferrata's hand left its mark over the whole. Almost countless are the repetitions of this subject, which seems to have been a favorite one with the Romans.

The extent of the reproduction of mythological subjects is borne witness to by the half-dozen *replicas* of the crouching Venus, the oft-repeated bearded Silen tending the babe Dionysos, the five copies of a satyr pouring out wine, the ten or eleven *replicas* of Eros pulling a bow, the numerous repetitions of Ariadne sleeping, and of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, as well as the three or four of the Apollo Sauroctonos, besides many more which might be mentioned. Athletic life was also represented in copies. They were needed to decorate the wrestling-grounds, and among them are numerous repetitions which seem traceable to the Doryphoros of Polycleitos. In the days of Winckelmann, these Roman reproductions were well-nigh the only channel through which the thoughts and inspirations of the older Greek masters could be reached; but now, since the recent excavations, we can compare them with unrestored originals of the Pheidian, Praxitelean, and Hellenistic ages, and our judgment of these later, often sadly patched-up Roman works becomes more just, as they sink to their proper level.

The sculptors of the age when Roman influence predominated in the ancient world may be roughly divided into three groups, a few names finding no connections. One of these groups is traced to Attica, and forms what is called the New Attic school; another seems to originate in Asia Minor, the flourishing seat of Hellenistic sculpture; and a third, to follow one Pasiteles, representing an archaistic tendency, perhaps a revulsion against the luxurious naturalistic art of Asia Minor.

Taking up the Attic masters, the first known to us by name seem to have been employed by Metellus Macedonicus, for a temple and portico in Rome, in 146 B.C. Pliny makes the statement, that in Olymp. 156 sculpture lived again, — a statement doubtless to be explained by the extensive introduction into Rome of Greek sculptures and sculptors at that time. The names mentioned are Antaios, Callistratos, Polycles, the Athenian Callixenos, Pythocles, Pythias, and Timocles, who, although inferior to those who had gone before, were nevertheless adjudged capable men.¹²⁵² Polycles and Timocles seem to

have belonged to a large family of Athenian sculptors, among whom are reckoned Polycles, his two sons Timocles and Timarchides, and probably Polycles' brother Timarchides, with his son Dionysios, familiar to us from Pausanias, and from recently discovered inscriptions.¹²⁵³ These men worked for Rome and for Greece. Polycles, with his nephew, executed a Jupiter for Metellus' temple to Jupiter, and a Juno for a building afterwards turned into the Portico of Octavia. From the elder Timarchides' hand was an Apollo, in the temple of that god near by. To Polycles may probably also be attributed an Hermaphrodite, which enjoyed great celebrity, as well as a group of Muses. Of his sons, Timocles and Timarchides, we learn that they executed for Olympia the statue of a boxer, Agesarchos (the pedestal of which has been discovered), a bearded Asclepios for Elateia in Phokis, as well as an Athena, possibly traceable on coins of Elateia. The shield of their goddess they copied from that of Pheidias' Parthenos. Happily, one work by the cousins Dionysios and Timarchides is preserved to us in an honorary statue put up at a Delos shrine to Gaius Ofellius, and still on the island, a work which is placed by Homolle at about 167 B.C.¹²⁵⁴ The general scheme of this nude and ideally formed figure is that of Praxiteles' Hermes; and, although pleasing, it is more careful and pains-taking than free and bold, lacking, as it were, in inspiration. As the head is gone, it is impossible to tell how far portrait-features were represented in it.

Eubulides, probably a contemporary of these men, also belonged to a numerous artistic family in Athens.¹²⁵⁵ He appears to have executed and consecrated an extensive group seen by Pausanias in Athens in the Kerameikos, consisting of thirteen figures,—a Zeus, an Athena, the Muses, a Mnemosyne, and an Apollo. Happily, the dedicatory inscription, with parts of two of these figures, has been discovered.¹²⁵⁶ One of these fragments is the colossal head of the Athena, to which a bronze helmet was attached; the other is probably one of the Muses in ecstatic motion, with head thrown up. Eubulides' works, so pretentious in size, evidently follow older models, but lack the exquisite character of the best time, here supplanted by mannerism. These statues are, however, of great historic importance as the only datable witnesses found to this renaissance of art on Attic soil.

On other statues, in different museums, the names of a few other Athenians are recorded, but doubtless of much later date. Prominent among these is Apollonios, son of Nestor, whose name is inscribed on the rocky base of that celebrated statue of the Vatican, the Belvedere Torso. It is of this work that the story is told, that Michel Angelo ran his fingers over its surface during his sightless old age. Probably this was the same Apollonios who is said to have executed a chryselephantine statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, after the burning of the temple.¹²⁵⁷ This Belvedere torso was discovered in the ruins of Pompey's Theatre, which it doubtless once decorated. The lion's skin indi-

cates that Heracles is here represented; but it has been hotly discussed, whether as fatigued and mourning over his labors, or as rejoicing at the meal of the gods with wine-cup upraised, or as grouped with Hebe. Its massiveness calls to mind the tremendous forms of the Pergamon giants; but their fresh, vigorous muscularity, and splendid rendering of skin and veins, is lacking. Winckelmann, to whom it was not granted to see greater works, poetically imagined these defects to be due not to mannerism or inability, but to the

sculptor's desire to represent the hero as transfigured, — a heavenly body, and one through whose veins blood did not flow.

' Another Apollonios, son of Archias from Athens, has inscribed his name on a bronze bust, discovered in Herculaneum, and now in Naples. This somewhat stern head, with hair in very fine locks, was long falsely called Augustus; but, put alongside of the heads of Polycleitos' Doryphoros, there is no question that Apollonios has copied that great masterpiece, inscribing his own name underneath. The shape of the letters gives us the age as about the time of Augustus, when an imitative spirit must have prevailed among Athenian masters. A Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes, has put his name on the portrait-statue of some Roman, perhaps a senator or speaker, which is now in the Louvre, and is falsely called Germanicus. The shape of the letters shows that this sculptor lived also in the Augustan age, and had taken as his pattern an older type of Hermes, probably as the god of eloquence, which seems indicated by the tortoise. This statue is a lively witness to portrait-art as practised by the Athenians in



Fig. 269. A Caryatid (restored by Thorwaldsen). Vatican.

Rome, but is frigid in its execution. One Diogenes of Athens decorated the Pantheon with architectural sculptures about 25 B.C.; but, according to Pliny, being high up, they were not fully appreciated. His *caryatidæ*, however, were prized as few other works. Several *caryatidæ* in Rome, copies of the Erechtheion maidens, one in the Vatican restored (Fig. 269), another in the Villa Ludovisi, and a third, neglected in a Roman palace-court, were long supposed to be the very works by Diogenes; but this is improbable, since his works stood, as we are told, *between* the pillars of the Pantheon, and hence could not have been like these architectural supports.¹²⁵⁸ The name of another Athenian, Antiochos, is cut into the end of the mantle of a colossal Athena in the Villa Ludovisi. The otherwise severe lines of this figure are disturbed by the restored arms and parts of the helmet. That this is a copyist's work, is clear on comparison, since it accords with other smaller *replicas* of Pheidias' Athena, many of which exist in Rome in the Villa Medici, the Palazzo Borghese, Palazzo

Colonna, and Capitoline Museum.¹²⁵⁹ The names of Criton and Nicolaos, of Athens, appear on one of three *canephori* discovered in the Vigna Strozzi, near the grave of Cecilia Metella, and seem to have decorated either a grave or a villa. The motive, that of an erect, fully draped figure, with the hands holding the *cista* on the head, is one we have seen magnificently developed in Athens, at the opening of the Hellenistic period. Here, however, the grandeur is lost; and the execution is of the feeble, often mincing, sort of the Roman age. As an architectural decoration, these statues would, doubtless, have been sufficiently satisfactory to the obtuse critical sense of the Romans.

The colossal Heracles (Fig. 270) of the Naples museum, once owned by the Farnese family, bears the name of another Athenian, — Glycon of Athens. The almost exact double of this figure in attitude and build, but in diminutive size, we have met in the Heracles of the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, where the wearied hero regards his suckling Telephos (Selections, Plate XVII.). In the Pergamon relief, the whole composition, together with the accompanying foliage, is an attractive idyl, quite in the spirit of the Hellenistic age. But in this Farnese Heracles, restored with the Hesperid apples in the right hand, Glycon has neglected all enlivening accessories, representing the hero as crushed by his trials; and, besides, has gone beyond the utmost that is allowable in representing physical force. The exaggerated muscles, the heavy build, and lack of firm, elastic execution, reveal the work of a man who was trying to outdo even such tremendous forms as those of the giants of the Pergamon frieze, but has far overshot the mark, and become *baroque*. Another repetition of this subject, associated with the name of Lysippos, is that in the Palazzo Pitti; but the name Lysippos has, without doubt, been attached by some modern forger of inscriptions. The frequent appearance of this Heracles in genuine reliefs and coins, and in Pompeian paintings, sometimes seen in front, sometimes from the back, and most often grouped with the babe Telephos and an eagle, makes it quite clear that Glycon's motive is a figure, sundered from such original surroundings, and made a separate statue.¹²⁶⁰ This original, there is much reason to believe, was a group erected in Pergamon in the third century B.C., where both Heracles and Telephos enjoyed special honors.

A very curious marble vase in the Louvre, bearing a row of figures engaged



Fig. 270. The Farnese Heracles, by Glycon the Athenian. Naples.

about a flaming altar, has upon the altar the name of Sosibios of Athens (Fig. 271). The letters indicate that this work dates from the early days of the empire.^{1260a} On it we see represented a Bacchic ceremony in which join the gods, Apollo with his lyre, Artemis with her hind, Ares with his helmet, Hermes with his *kerkyon* held daintily in his right hand, and Athena with her shield, besides a satyr, and mænads. The combination of stiffness in the Hermes and Artemis, with freedom in these remaining figures, shows that the archaism in the style of this vase is affected.

With these men, whose spirit seems to be mainly that of imitation, our information concerning the so-called New Attic school terminates; and we may turn to a group of masters clustering about Pasiteles' name. Pasiteles, whose name has often been misread Praxiteles, was a native of Southern Italy, and doubtless received the right of Roman citizenship in 87 B.C., when it was granted to all the cities of Southern Italy. His life was spent, however, mainly in Rome; and it is related, that on one occasion, while studying a lion from nature, at the spot where the wild beasts from Africa were kept, a panther



Fig. 271. Marble Vase in Archaistic Style, by Sosibios the Athenian. Louvre.

breaking loose from his cage, and attacking him, the artist nearly lost his life.¹²⁶¹ He is said, like modern sculptors, to have expended great care upon the clay models for his works, calling this process the mother of casting and of working in marble. His known works are a Jupiter in ivory, probably combined with gold; and a figure in silver of the actor Roscius, represented as a boy bound by a snake, which was considered a good omen.¹²⁶² He was said also to have been skilful in marble and bronze, and to have written five books, on masterpieces of art, which were one of Pliny's sources in writing upon similar subjects. That Pasiteles was a teacher besides, we learn from the statue of an athlete in the Villa Albani, bearing the inscription, "Stephanos, scholar of Pasiteles."¹²⁶³ It is a mannered, unsympathetic work, and important only as being one of a large group which shows how, in this age, archaic models, in groups or standing alone, were copied, doubtless to suit a taste for old things, that became rife in Rome, and under Augustus seems to have been especially strong. This statue by Stephanos, of a youthful nude figure, like the youth in Fig. 272, is much restored. Two figures in the Villa Albani, one in the Lateran, and a much finer one in the Berlin Museum, resemble it in pose. In the latter, we have an excellent variation on an archaic scheme, but in the

works in Rome perhaps closer copies of the original. Sometimes this figure is grouped, or rather placed with another; in one case a male, and in a second a female. The latter work (Fig. 272), in the Naples museum, has received the designation *Orestes and Electra*. The type of this youth, doubtless as Apollo, occurs five times, receiving long, flowing locks. The one in bronze, in Naples, has a less empty character than the others, as though its details had been studied from nature.

This imitation of archaic works had been practised of old in Greece, but apparently with a hieratic purpose; and not as in Augustus', and most emphatically in Hadrian's time, to suit the antiquarian's taste. Thus the temple on Samothrake, built in the fourth century B.C., the age of Praxiteles and of Scopas, had a frieze twenty-eight centimeters high, of quaint dancing figures in stiff drapery.¹²⁶⁴ As we regard a part of them in the Louvre, we are conscious that these are not genuine archaic forms and folds, but from their clear affectation of stiffness in the bird-tail ends of drapery, and exaggeration of the form under the garments, we are sure that they were executed at a time when the sculptor could produce free forms, but chose, doubtless for some religious cause, to hold on to the received and traditional methods of representation. In Athens, also, archaic forms were imitated, as appears from stiff charioteer reliefs from the Acropolis, as well as from harsh figures of Hecate and Kybele, undoubtedly of late date. So in the Hellenistic times, archaic types must have occasionally appeared, like the stiff archaistic Athena, on some of the coins of Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, and Pyrrhos of Epeiros.¹²⁶⁵ This was probably a revulsion from purely artistic motives, against the full, luxurious forms of a developed art, and a return to the quaint, simpler ones of older days; but it is only from Roman times, that we have numerous proofs of this archaistic tendency.

To these *replicas* of archaic works belong a number of statues in our different museums, which must go back to a very celebrated original of ripe archaic art. They represent a nude, erect youth, with hair bound around the head in a braid, and, in the copy in the Museo Torlonia, with a large quiver by the side, which marks him in this case, certainly, as Apollo.¹²⁶⁶ These statues exist in London, the Capitoline Museum, and Athens. The head has been found alone in Kyrene; and one example has recently come to light in private possession at Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight. The best-executed of these statues is the one

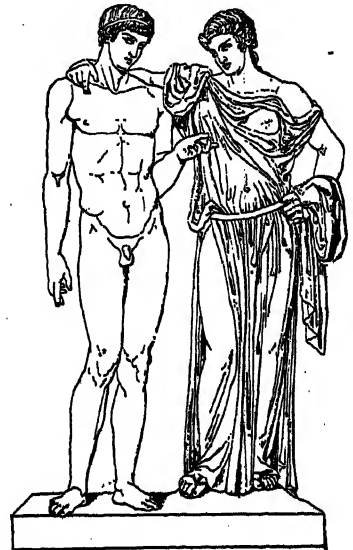


Fig. 272. *Archaistic Group called Orestes and Electra. Naples.*

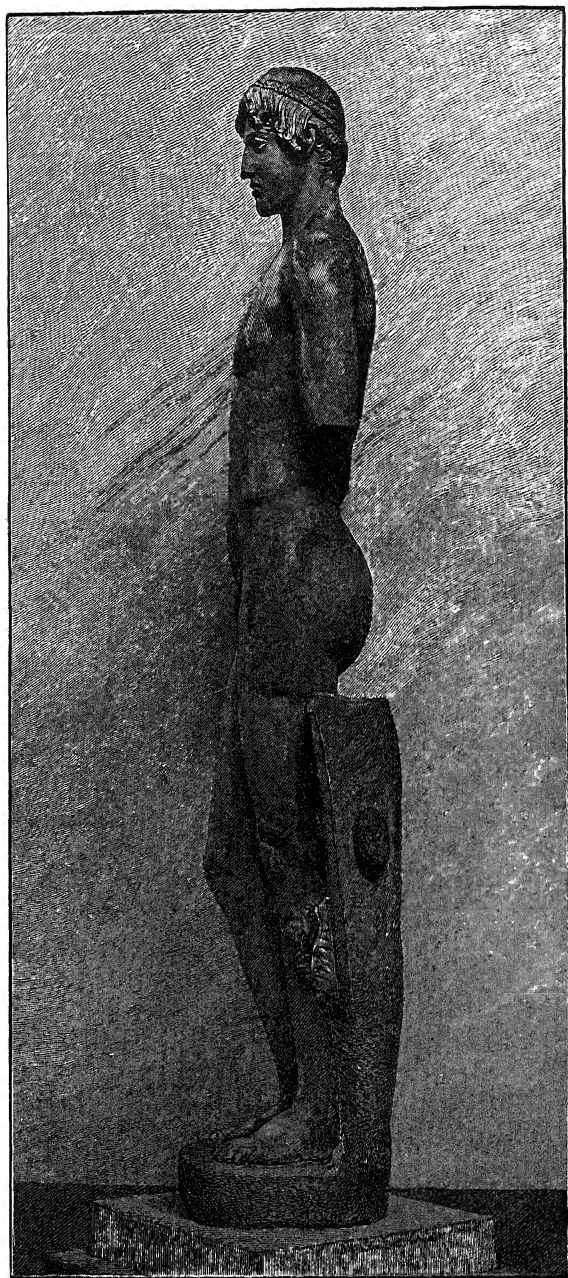


Fig. 273. The so-called Apollo Gouffier of the British Museum.

in Athens, from the Theatre of Dionysos, restored falsely as standing on an *omphalos* found in the same place.¹²⁶⁷ The British-Museum copy (Fig. 273) was obtained in Constantinople by the French ambassador Choisseul Gouffier, and ranks next. This statue may also have represented Apollo, although the strap hanging by the side may permit the theory, proposed by Waldstein, that here the youth is an athlete. Although the abdomen is meagre, and the feet both rest flatly on the ground, there is a freedom in the modelling, and a severely chaste beauty about this work, like that of early Italian art. Without doubt, it has some of the great excellences inspired by an original coming just before the highest bloom of art, and its torso bears a strong resemblance to some of the figures of the Olympia pediments; but in what school or place that original was developed, we do not yet know.

As enlarging the circle of archaistic works, might be mentioned the Artemis of the Dresden Museum, and possibly the graceful girl runner of the Vatican. Among reliefs, we should find many decorating altar-bases, and others which may have been votive tablets. In these latter the prominent features are the procession-like arrangement, the oft-recurring standing on tiptoe, and the union of stiff with free forms.

Pasiteles and his school did not confine themselves to such imitations of archaic works as the Stephanos athlete. This is clear from a group (Fig. 274), in the Villa Ludovisi, bearing the inscription, "Menelaos, scholar of Stephanos," who, as we have seen, was a scholar of Pasiteles. Among the numerous names given this group are Orestes and Electra, Phaidra and Hippolytos, Octavia and Marcellus, etc.¹²⁶⁸ The idea of friendly union is here clearly expressed between a large, fully draped woman, and her much smaller companion. This pleasing group was restored about the hands by Bernini, and the faces were retouched by less skilful men; but the polished surface and the intricate and heavy drapery are ancient. A similar scene has been found on Greek tomb-



Fig. 274. Group by Menelaos, scholar of Stephanos. Villa Ludovisi.

stones, showing whence the sculptor got his type; and the subject is one which would have been most suitable for a Roman grave.¹²⁶⁹ The costume of the woman is made thoroughly Roman, and the lack of portraiture may be due to an idealizing tendency which prevailed in the Augustan age. Graceful movement, and inner feeling, somewhat theatrical in its expression, are here; but the surface lacks all pleasant details, and the drapery is mannered and full of trivialities, far different from the fresh realism even of the Hellenistic age.

Of one sculptor, Arcesilaos, we learn, that, like Pasiteles, he finished carefully his clay models.¹²⁷⁰ For these, artists paid more than for the finished works of other masters. A Roman nobleman, it is said, paid him a talent for a plaster-cast for a vase (*crater*). For Julius Cæsar, who claimed descent from Venus, he made a statue of Venus Genetrix for the temple of that goddess, which Cæsar built. Such, however, was his patron's haste, that the statue was put up unfinished, and consecrated with the temple 46 B.C. On a coin of Sabina, is an inscription, *Veneri Genetrici*, accompanying the image of a female draped in transparent garments. Many statues like this figure were long supposed to be traceable to a new type developed by Arcesilaos. But the headdress and whole build are such, that there can be no doubt, as said on p. 320, that the ideal dates back as far as the fifth century; and Arcesilaos' Venus Genetrix can, at the most, have been only a variation on the older work. We are little informed concerning a merry group by him, owned by Varro. It represented, in one block, a lioness held by several winged cupids, while others forced her to drink out of a horn, and still others put shoes on to her paws. Pollio Asinius owned centaurs ridden by nymphs, by this master; but, doubtless, the originals of these subjects are to be traced back to the Hellenistic age, so rich in similar subjects, which may have been here enlarged upon. Zenodoros is a sculptor of this Roman age, who seems to have devoted himself to colossal works in bronze.¹²⁷¹ For the Gauls of Avernus, he executed a colossal Mercury, which occupied him ten years, and for which he received four hundred thousand sesterces (seventeen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars). His fame reaching Rome, he was called thither by Nero; where he made a colossal figure in bronze, of the emperor, one hundred and ten feet high. But, although Nero was ready to give gold and silver to mix in the bronze, Pliny says, one saw in the work that the art of casting was gone. The colossus first stood before Nero's Golden House, but, because of that emperor's great crimes, in 75 A.D. was consecrated to the sun-god. When Hadrian was building the temple of Venus and Roma, he had it removed by twenty-four elephants; and still later it was made a portrait of Commodus.

The most important class of sculptors, who were active in Rome at this time, are those from Asia Minor. With the latter country, Rome had longest stood on friendly terms; and the religions, especially that of Kybele and Attis, had gained great prominence. The rhetorical art developed by "Asi-

anic" masters was assiduously cultivated; and the garments and choice wares called Attalid, after the Pergamon house, were especially prized. It was Asia Minor that started the worship of Roman generals and consuls, and suggested to the Romans the personification of their city as the Dea Roma. To the latter a temple was built, as early as 195 B.C., in Smyrna; and in the Asiatic cities Augustus and Dea Roma were first worshipped together, their images

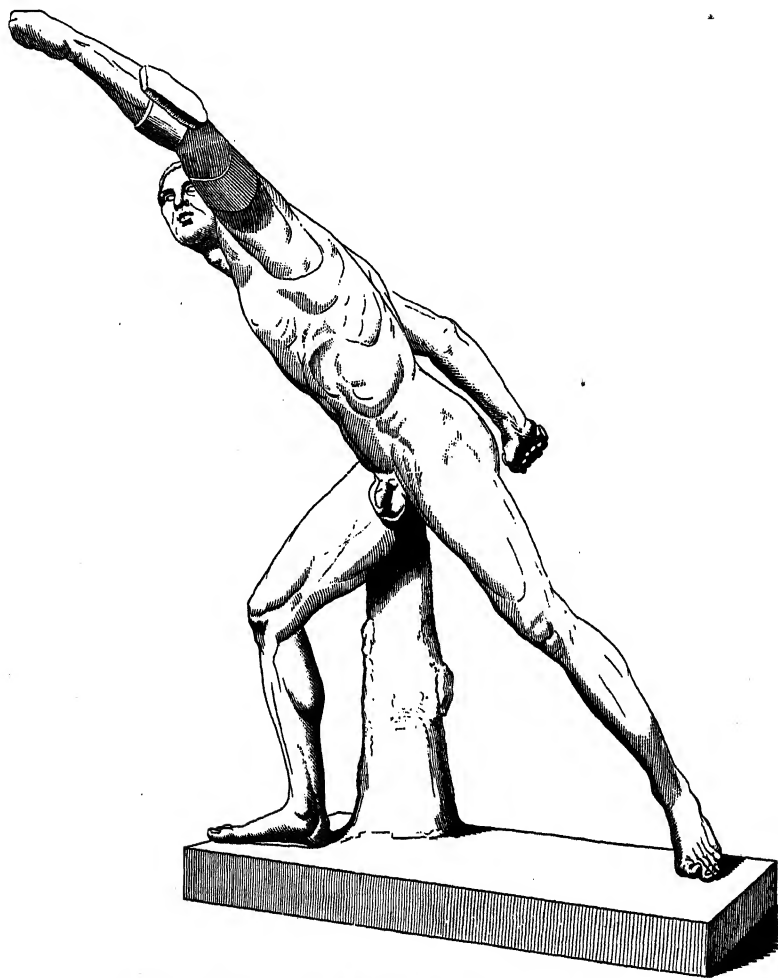


Fig. 275. *The Borghese Warrior, by Agasias of Ephesos. Louvre.*

occupying the same temples. In the Asia-Minor cities, this Roma appeared in the form of Tyche, guardian goddess of the different cities, with mural crown, and attributes of blessing such as the cornucopia; but in Rome itself she seems to have had a more warlike character, having much the garb of the Amazons, and the helmet of Athena. The names of Asia-Minor sculptors who worked in Rome are indeed very few; but the influence of the Pergamon sculptures is traceable, as we shall see, in very many monuments there executed. Among

these men was Agasias of Ephesos, the master who executed the warrior once owned by the Borghese family, but now in the Louvre (Fig. 275); a figure much resembling works from the Pergamon school, and long falsely called a gladiator. Its excited motion, and detailed anatomy, have caused it to be much studied by young artists. This warrior is in the attitude of vigorous defence; and the shield-band on his arm indicates that his foe, perhaps mounted, is conceived as attacking him from above. The attitude is given with all the

fire of the old masters, carried to the greatest extreme; but, compared with the Pergamon figures of the great frieze, the execution of the surface is disconnected. There seems to be a display of anatomical knowledge, but carried so far that we are tempted to think that the artist has omitted the skin; still much of this effect may be owing to restoration.¹²⁷² Archelaos, son of Apollonios of Priene, is another of these masters from Asia Minor. His name is found on a relief called the Apotheosis of Homer, now in the British Museum, and discovered at Bovillac in Italy (Fig. 276). On the height of Parnassos reclines Zeus, accompanied by his eagle, an amusing tame bird. Below are the Nine Muses, one of them rapidly descending the mountain-side.



Fig. 276. The Apotheosis of Homer. British Museum.

In a cave follows Apollo as Musagetes, accompanied by Pythia, or a priestess, and between them the *omphalos*. On a pedestal outside of the cave, in front of a tripod, is the statue of a poet. An inscription below leaves no doubt that the seated figure, being crowned, in the lower row, is Homer, surrounded by allegorical figures. By his throne kneel small figures of the Iliad and Odyssey. The inhabited Earth, wearing a *polos*, indicating perhaps the spread of his fame, and winged Chronos, are behind his seat. An ox is being brought to the flaming altar; and Myth, a small lad, approaches with vase and plate of offering, while History scatters incense into the flames. Epic Poetry swings

high two torches. Tragedy and Comedy approach with gesture of adoration; and, lastly, comes a throng made up of Nature, as a small child, and four womanly forms, Virtue, Memory, Truthfulness, and Wisdom,—altogether an interesting allegory, but certainly unintelligible without the accompanying names. The date of this relief is a disputed point, but all are agreed that it follows the spirit of the cult of Homer developed in Alexandria under the Ptolemies. Its artistic worth is very secondary, and the forms of the Muses in it seem copied from the same originals to which many statues in our galleries may be referred.

Aphrodisias, in Asia Minor, where are still beautiful ruins from Roman times, seems to have furnished several masters for Rome and Italy. Zenon's name is found on a male portrait-statue in the Villa Ludovisi: a better *replica* in the Capitol is called Marcellus.¹²⁷³ This artist's name appears also on a draped female figure, found in Syracuse; a work which interests, however, less than its inscription, in which the master says, that, "trusting to his art, he had wandered through many cities." The fact that his statues are found in Syracuse and Rome confirms his words, and gives us a picture of the sculptor's wandering about in search of occupation.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SCULPTURAL MONUMENTS IN THEIR HISTORICAL SEQUENCE, FROM THE GOLDEN AGE UNDER AUGUSTUS (29 B.C.-14 A.D.) TO THE FALL OF ART UNDER CONSTANTINE (313-337 A.D.).

Roman Portraiture. — Heroic Portraits — Portraits of Ladies and Others. — Augustan Age of Portraiture. — Altar of Peace. — Portrait-Statue of Augustus. — Reliefs from Claudius' Arch. — Arch of Titus. — Trajan's Forum. — Sculptures of Trajan's Arch. — Unfinished Statue of Barbarian Captive. — Trajan's Column. — Powerful Details, but Lack of Nobility of Style. — Relief of Nike. — The Brescia Nike. — Hadrian's Liberal Patronage of Art. — Antinous Relief in Villa Albani. — Use of Hard and Costly Materials. — Decline in the Time of Antonines. — Illustrated by Portraits. — Apotheosis of Antoninus. — Activity in Time of Marcus Aurelius. — Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. — Greek and Roman Sarcophagi. — Amazon Relief. — Rapid Decline after Commodus. — Arch of Septimius Severus. — Constantine's Arch. — Sarcophagus of Helena. — Decline in Rome. — Art Tradition in Provinces.

HAVING cast a glance at the numerous uses to which sculpture was applied, and at the repetitions of ideal subjects and types received from olden times, as well as at the names of the few sculptors preserved to us, we may turn to the historic and portrait art of Roman times, which, because more accurately to be dated, may be treated in more strictly chronological sequence. This art rises and falls with the degree of political prosperity and with the healthful condition of things. Thus, under Augustus, it enjoys a high summer. After him it sinks, but rises again in a different form under Trajan. In Hadrian's time, great efforts were made to bring art up again, and with a certain degree of success. Under the Antonines it seems also to have enjoyed a feeble summer, but after that in Rome sinks rapidly.

Portraiture, both ideal and iconic, had always appealed most strongly to the Romans. Their iconic male statues fall roughly into two classes, of which the first represented the individual in the costume of daily life, wrapped in the toga, — *statuæ togatæ*. Since the Romans were exceedingly punctilious in the fall of this capacious garment, it was possible for the sculptors to keep toga statues on hand, to which a portrait-head was added as desired. Hence it is, doubtless, that the forms very seldom show any thing like individuality, that great charm in Greek portrait-sculpture. The second class, *statuæ thoracatæ*, represented the warlike Roman in armor, sometimes addressing his army, sometimes on horseback, or in a chariot. For portraiture, where the person

was considered as elevated to the rank of a semi-divine hero, were used *statuæ Achilleæ*, which represented him as nude, and often carrying a spear. In statues representing deified men, Jupiter was naturally a favorite form for the emperors, who received highest religious honors. High-born ladies of the early empire, when represented as goddesses, were usually metamorphosed into Ceres; but the forms of Venus, Vesta, Diana, and the Muses were also employed, and in later times even the wives of freedmen were represented as goddesses. Excellent portraits exist from the later days of the republic, such as those of Cicero, Julius Cæsar, and Brutus; but the golden age of historic and portrait art in Rome was the time of Augustus.¹²⁷⁴ As far as poetic character is concerned, not only statuary, but relief, then stood higher than ever after. A breath of Greek idealism seemed still to rest upon the world; and sometimes, indeed, the portrait is quite buried in ideality.

As best illustrating some of the art-features of this age, we may take that monument, Augustus' Altar of Peace, which has at last been rescued from oblivion by the efforts of von Duhn, and its sculptural decoration brought to receive due admiration.¹²⁷⁵ This *ara pacis Augusti* was erected by the senate on the Field of Mars, upon Augustus' safe return, in 12 B.C., from his wars in the North, in Spain and Gaul. Its dedication followed in February, 8 B.C.; and a cult was then established, to be observed on every anniversary-day. On the spot occupied by the Palazzo Fiano, near the Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina, rose this monumental altar. Its quadrilateral form resembled the Great Altar at Pergamon; and, like that much more extensive structure, it was decorated with friezes in style and composition similar to the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, although more realistic than those mythic scenes. Around its sides, as shown by reliefs recently found on the site, and others, mostly preserved in the Villa Medici, and in the Belvedere of the Vatican, a procession moved towards a sacrificial scene, which was represented on the balustrade of the steps leading up to the altar proper. This balustrade was lined with fine arabesques, in which sacred symbols, such as *tænia* and *bucrania* (skull of the ox), were intermingled. Of the procession, seven much-restored large slabs (1.60 meters high) are preserved, besides three fine pieces (1.42 meters high) from the scene of sacrifice. In the quiet dignity of a religious rite, the procession approaches the centre from each side. Here, high public functionaries, doubtless the two prætors and the senate, accompanied by lictors, advance to meet Augustus, approaching from the north side. Behind them are the ministers of the ritual, one with toga thrown over his head, as was usual with those about to sacrifice, the flute-players, and the *camilli* or acolytes bearing the *ricinium*, or fringed and embroidered fuzzy garment, carried on such occasions, and the *acerra*, or small altar, for burning incense. Men, women, and children follow, as though indicating the Roman people. The faces are better preserved, and hence the procession more interesting, on the opposite side. First to attract

attention here, is a man regal in appearance, wearing an *apex* wreathed with laurel, and turning to talk with a follower (Fig. 277). Lictors attend him; and his features are so like those of the great Augustus, on coins, that there can be no doubt that this is the conqueror himself with his retinue. His *apex* seems to indicate his sacred office, as *flamen*, or priest of offering. The slab with a *camillus*, carrying a statuette of a *lar*, has been placed by restoration falsely in Augustus' immediate surroundings, and doubtless belongs to some other part of the procession. On the slabs following are the men, women, boys, and girls of the royal family; many of the heads being clearly portraits, but so idealized



Fig. 277. Part of the Large Frieze from Augustus' Altar of Peace (Ara Pacis). Parts in Outline restored.

that it is difficult to recognize who are intended. One tall, solemn figure, with toga over his head, seems to have the lean, determined features of Julius Cæsar himself. If this be the case, then the sculptor must have intended to represent the great head of the Julian house, although long dead, as joining in the procession of his proud successor and heir, receiving honors with him. He is preceded by public officials, perhaps priests, as seems indicated by the *apex* worn by two of them. One carries in his hand a thin rod, the *commetacula*, with which the *flamen* kept away the crowd about the sacrifice. In the remainder of the procession (Fig. 278), women of dignified bearing, and children, appear, the latter wearing on their chests the *bullæ*, indicating their noble birth. Possibly here are Livia, Antonia, and Octavia, with the children who should become the

great Claudius, Germanicus, and Drusus ; but the portraiture is not sufficiently marked to trace a resemblance to their coins. In all these reliefs, life seems intimated, not slavishly imitated. The crowd is nowhere dense, and its composition is always clear. There are, besides, a grandeur and dignity in the forms and faces, which are not met with in similar scenes of after-times. But especially is the drapery vigorous in its sweep, and treated with a freedom and softness of surface such as was peculiar to this epoch, but afterwards degenerated into dry, stony harshness. In these compact rows, and gracefully draped figures, now looking outward, now in profile conversing with one another, how close the



Fig. 278. Part of Large Frieze from Augustus' Ara Pacis. Procession of Members of the Royal Family. Rome.

resemblance in composition and grouping to many parts of the small frieze of the Pergamon altar, where even the mantle thrown back like the toga is met with ! The sculptor seems to have taken special delight in the scenes where victims for offering are represented. These reliefs are somewhat smaller than those of the procession, and, it is thought, faced the balustrade without ; the inside face, as said above, being decorated with graceful arabesques. Here a lusty *victimarius* (Fig. 279), laurel-wreathed, and with form and features of an ideal athletic type, leads out the victim crowned with a palmette, and having a woollen *vitta* bound around and hanging from below its horns. In the background, a temple pleasantly fills out the space. Standing by, is a second *victimarius*, his back to the beholder, and with the hatchet on his arm. His mus-

cular shoulders are admirably expressed above his garment, which is gathered about his waist ready for his duties. Again, we see the beast's head being lowered for slaughter; and in one slab is an amusing scene, where a laurel-wreathed *camillus* carries a dish of fruit, a graceful vase, and the rich *ricinium* thrown over his arm, while a second attendant shoves forward the obstinate swine, intended for sacrifice (Fig. 280). On a rock in the background rises a temple, in which appear statues of two throned deities, doubtless Jupiter with some associate god; but what temple is meant here, we do not know. In the immediate foreground, we see a rough altar, and the branch of an oak-tree stretching its leaves into the bare space above the youths. Here, too, is the



Fig. 279. Part of Small Frieze of Augustus' Ara Pacis.
Beast led to Sacrifice. Rome.



Fig. 280. Part of Small Frieze of Augustus' Ara Pacis.
Acolytes (Camilli) with Offerings. Rome.

same picturesque treatment, as in the small Pergamon reliefs, — the same rendering of the accessories of trees, rocks, and buildings. There is not yet, however, that following nature, in perspective and realistic detail, so characteristic of the later Roman times, especially that of Trajan, where we may read the exact topography of the scenes at last become prosaically realistic. And yet the Roman spirit shows itself in these Augustan reliefs most emphatically in the portrait element, and in the dwarfish shapes of the children, features not met with in the Pergamon reliefs.

One of the most beautiful statues preserved to us from Roman times is a portrait of Augustus, which, like the *ara pacis*, seems to have been executed shortly after the emperor's triumphant return from the North, and to have special reference to that event (Fig. 281). This marble figure was discovered

in 1863, in Livia's celebrated villa *ad Gallinas Albas*, on the Via Flaminia, near Prima Porta, and is now in the Vatican.¹²⁷⁶ Although the statue was broken, yet only a finger, the bit of one ear, and its sceptre, were lost; but there are signs that the left leg and extended right arm had been restored in antiquity, showing how much, even then, this Augustus was prized. Purple, red, crimson, yellow, and blue, now well-nigh faded, enlivened the surface, touching up



Fig. 281. Statue of Augustus found in Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas. Vatican.

the finger-rings, garments, hair, and like details. The easy gesture, shared by the whole body in its swing, may indicate addressing an army, or, more broadly, sovereign rule. How lordly the pose and expression of this man who had just restored peace, and caused prosperity to shine upon a vast dominion! The finely worked reliefs on his cuirass seem the imitation of an actual piece of metal armor. In the centre, a Roman, in the uniform of a general, with helmet, cuirass, girdle, and purple *paludamentum* hanging from his shoulders, receives a Roman standard, eagle-crowned, from one dressed in the garments of a barba-

rian, — trousers and long sleeves, — and having shaggy long hair, and bow and quiver. This latter is, no doubt, the Parthian Phraates, surrendering to Augustus a Roman standard, for which he obtained the freedom of his son, — a deed of clemency and sly diplomacy, of which Augustus was always proud. On either side sit, bent over in sorrow, the genii of two conquered nations: on the right, Gallia, marked by the boar-crowned standard resting against her; and on the left, as indicated by the general costume, the genius of the Alpine people, conquered by Augustus shortly before returning to Rome (12 B.C.). Near the neck of the cuirass appears the god Cælus, half emerging from the clouds, and holding his drapery arching above his head. Just below, three figures indicate the rising day, — Sol, in his *quadriga*, preceded by a winged female in rapid motion, pouring out a libation, and, at the same time, carrying on her shoulders a figure who holds a burning torch, and seems to regulate her bearer's motion by touching her wings: these can be only the Dawn and Morning Red preceding the sun, to indicate that, by Augustus' achievements, a day of glory had dawned. Prosperity seems symbolized by the reclining goddess Tellus, at the base of the cuirass, holding a horn of plenty, and two children at her breast. Divine blessing is represented by Augustus' tutelary deities, — Apollo with his harp and griffin, and Diana, with quiver and torch, riding her deer. In verses that call to mind such a conception of the great ruler's deeds, Horace sang of Augustus on this very return from the North, commemorated by this statue and the Altar of Peace.¹²⁷⁷ Examining the details, we see that the hair is more indicated than worked out; the eyebrows have no hairs marked, and the pupils are cut into the ball. The mantle, though fine in its general arrangement, shows that harshness in finishing the breaks of the folds which appears first in this Græco-Roman time. The drapery is laid across the lower part of the armor, in a pleasant manner, doubtless to suit an artistic plan, while the legs are left bare. A cupid at Augustus' feet, riding on a dolphin, may have reference to the emperor's supposed descent from Venus, but is doubtless required here as a support for the marble. The forms of the child are so defective, that we marvel that the sculptor of so fine a statue could have been contented with such accessories.

Leaving the monuments of Augustus' age, some of which, in San Remy in France, as well as many single ones in Rome, are of great interest, let us consider those of later reigns. Very many of these latter are connected with triumphal arches. Originally, the victorious generals made use of paintings, put up on scaffoldings, to depict all their marches, battles, toils, and conflicts before the gaping populace. This practice was an early one, and continued long; Titus and Vespasian, we are told, using it in direct connection with their triumphs. It was natural, that, to make these pictures enduring, they should have been translated into stone; and this seems the origin of the realistic chronicles carved on triumphal arches and columns.¹²⁷⁸ Of Claudius'

triumphal arch, built 51-52 A.D., a few slabs of relief, now in the Villa Borghese, are preserved.¹²⁷⁹ Here, in the processions represented, the simpler arrangement of the figures on Augustus' *ara pacis* has given place to denser masses four and five deep, instead of the double depth of the older frieze, which approached more closely the small frieze of Pergamon. Still later, in 81 A.D., senate and people erected to the deified Titus, called "*divus*" in the dedication, that arch which, of all existing Roman monuments of the kind, is the simplest and most harmonious (Fig. 282). Here the lines of the architecture have their suitable preponderance, while the sculpture



Fig. 282. Arch of Titus. Rome.

takes an honored and select place,—a great contrast to later monuments, on which the relief is so excessive as to become commonplace. Trajan's arch at Beneventum, covered all over with stone-pictures, well illustrates this later prodigality.^{1279a} These sculptures of Titus' arch commemorate the emperor's victory over the Jews, culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D., and also the emperor's apotheosis. In the midst of the *cassettes*, which line the arch spanning the road, Titus is seen borne aloft on an eagle, the symbol of his ascent to the gods. But more important far, are the two scenes which line the sides of the arch. On one side we see Titus in triumph on a chariot, drawn by prancing horses. The goddess Roma herself leads, while a winged Nike behind holds over the imperial head a significant wreath. Twelve lictors, as well as Romans dressed in the toga of peace, laurel-wreathed, and carrying

laurel-branches, make up the *cortège*. So much in perspective is the direction of Titus' chariot, that the figures appear to be coming out toward the beholder. Of great historic, as well as artistic excellence, is the continuation of the procession on the opposite side of the archway (Fig. 283). Here the line enters a gate, above which are seen indications of statuary, probably the decorations of a city portal. We see sturdy, laurel-wreathed men bringing in the booty taken from the Jews, — their seven-armed golden candlestick, and the table of shew-bread. The picturesque element, the crowding of the figures, and realism of the scene, are far more pronounced than in the reliefs of Augustus' Altar of Peace. There the rows were two deep, here much more: there, two lictors sufficed to indicate the *cortège*, here the full number are given. In Augustus' altar, there was no attempt to represent the procession as it wound through the streets: here, showing that relief is losing its unique character, and becoming a true picture in stone, a strong perspective even is given. Gracefully filling out the triangular spaces above the arch, are floating Victories, their easy, noble forms a great contrast to the Victories of later arches: instance those on the Arch of Constantine. On the keystones are sculptured the goddesses Honos and Virtus. The sacrificial scenes, forming the narrow frieze facing the façades of this Arch of Titus, are more quiet than the other reliefs, and seem hardly to be the product of the same fancy. Here beasts are led to sacrifice; soldiers march with armor and standards, carrying a reclining statue of the river Jordan, no doubt such as was borne in Titus' triumphal procession. The almost archaic monotony in the arrangement of the figures, one after the other, is much inferior to the spirited scene within the arch, and nearer the eye, of which the fire in the detail, the freedom and correctness of composition, are scarcely to be met again in existing Roman reliefs.

To the reign of Titus followed that of Domitian (81–96 A.D.), to which time belong the very high reliefs, still crowning the so-called Colonnacce at Rome, once forming a part of the luxurious decoration of the Temple of Minerva, incorporated into Nerva's Forum. Here the colossal goddess Minerva stands erect in the middle, while thirty-eight busy figures, on the frieze below, represent the household arts, — washing, weaving, spinning, and the like, — all supposed to be under her fostering care.¹²⁸⁰ Although the figures are much injured, they offer us a gauge of the sculptor's capabilities in representing ideal and quiet scenes; and, in their weak and scattered composition, we see how great the inferiority here to the compact and realistic rendering of the triumphal procession on Titus' arch of but a few years previous.

In the reign of Trajan (96–117 A.D.), the realism of Roman sculpture appears to have reached its height, spreading its panoramic illustrations over all the buildings then erected. Trajan's passions seem to have been war and architecture; and the number of public buildings built or restored by him,

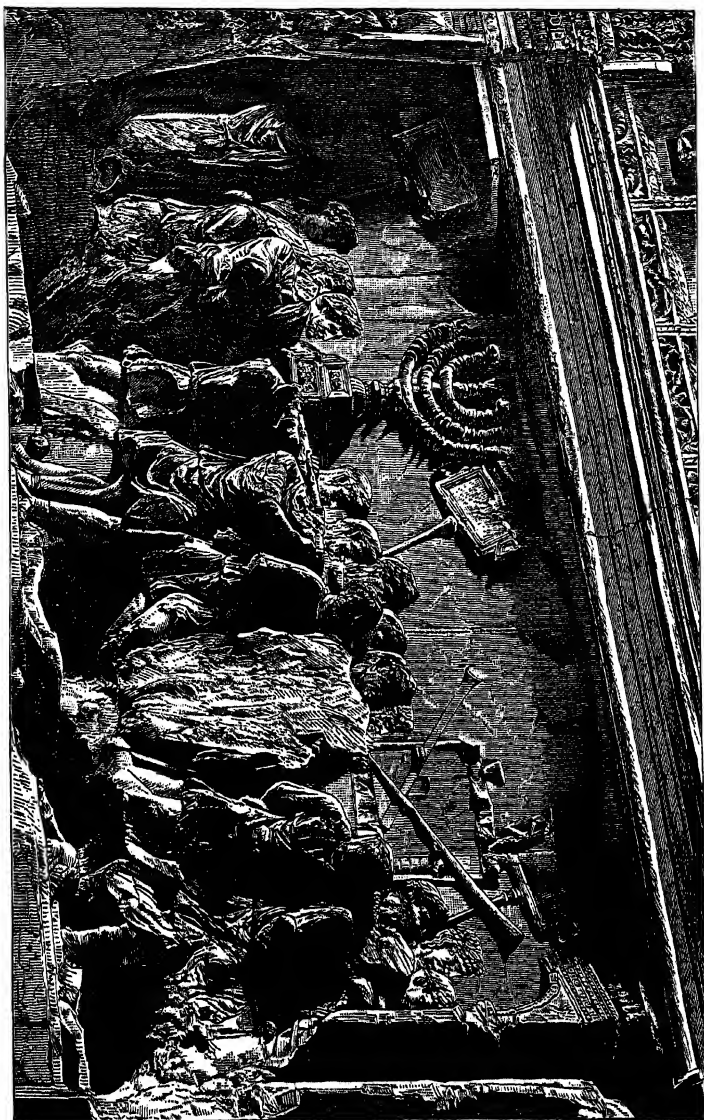


Fig. 283. Relief from inside of Arch of Titus. Triumphal Procession entering Rome after Conquest of Jerusalem.

and bearing his name, was so great, that Constantine the Great compared Trajan's name to that flower which attaches itself to every wall; and an ancient writer, Eutropius, styled him "the architect of the world."¹²⁸¹ Trajan's greatest architectural achievement in Rome was his Forum, built by the architect Apollodoros, and of which the partially excavated ruins reveal the extent and rich sculptural finish.¹²⁸² To obtain the requisite building-site, a ridge, forty meters high, between the Capitol and Quirinal, was removed: here Trajan's Forum was laid out, between the Campus Martius, with its colonnades, statues,

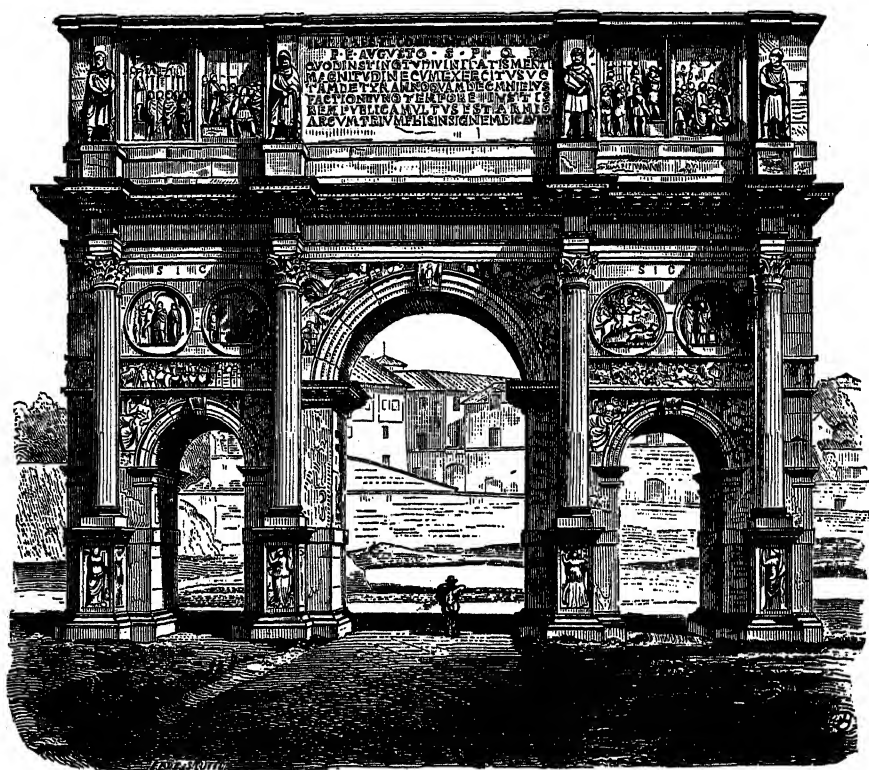


Fig. 284. *Triumphal Arch of Constantine, built after Plan of Trajan's Arch (about 312 A.D.). Rome.*

and sacred altars, on one side, and Augustus' Forum, with its temple to Mars Ultor, on the other. At the entrance to Trajan's Forum was a triumphal arch, which led into a great court surrounded by colonnades, the roofs of which were decorated with gilded horses and trophies taken from the enemy; architectural ornaments evidently traceable to the influence of Pergamon, where, as we have seen, similar decorations existed on the colonnades of the Great Altar. In the centre of the court stood the equestrian statue of Trajan; and across the north ran the Basilica Ulpia, its columns of sienite and *giallo antico*, and its pavement of Phrygian marble. Directly adjoining this regal basilica, was the column erected in 113 A.D., by senate and people, over Trajan's tomb, and built to

equal the height of the hill removed to make place for his Forum. On either side of the column were libraries, one for Greek and the other for Latin literature; and, opposite the emperor's grave, a temple for his worship. Of the sculptures that once finished these numerous buildings, the best-preserved are those from the triumphal arch, and those still winding about the column, which no longer bears the statue of Trajan, but that of the Apostle Peter.

This triumphal arch, erected by the senate in honor of Trajan's victorious campaigns against the Dacians, and lavishly decorated with sculptures, was torn down by Constantine; but its architecture was copied in that emperor's own arch, still standing near the Colosseum, and the new structure (Fig. 284) was adorned with sculptures taken from the one demolished. Among these are extensive sculptured slabs, eight medallions, and a number of statues. In the broad slabs now along the top (*attica*) of Constantine's arch, Trajan appears in public activity. In one scene, he appoints a vassal king; in others, he hears prisoners, addresses his army, makes offerings to the gods, enters Rome led by Roma and crowned by Victory, restores the Via Appia represented as a weeping woman, feeds poor children on the Forum, and receives a barbarian king. Some of the sculptures seem to have been sawn apart, to be applied to the new arch; but, though separated, the war-scenes at the ends of the arch are powerful in their intricate composition, their dense masses of fighting warriors, and tremendous realism, surpassing even that of the earlier reliefs lining Titus' arch. In the medallions, four of which appear in the cut, the emperor may be seen either in the hunt, or engaged in offering. Sometimes, wearing the *nimbus*, he contemplates a slain lion, or rides his fiery horse; again, like a common mortal, he attacks a bear, or starts out on the chase; four medallions witness to his piety to the gods, as he makes grateful offering to Hercules, Diana, Apollo, and Mars. The representations of the conquered people, which now surmount the columns of Constantine's arch, also torn from Trajan's monument, are tragic in their sorrow; and such figures seem to have been numerous about Trajan's buildings. Those on Constantine's arch have been sadly restored; but one unfinished statue, like them in composition, discovered in 1841, among the ruins of ancient sculptors' workshops, near the Chiesa Nuova, and which is now in the Lateran (Fig. 285), expresses not only the distress of these captives, but also their dignity and power. Its combined realism and pathos are the direct lineal descendants of the earlier art of Pergamon, which produced such works as the Dying Galatian. Only a part of the locks under the right ear, some of the fingers, and parts of the feet, required restoration; so that here we see a grand sketch approaching the last stage of completion before it left the workshop. The barbarian wears bunched trousers, over which falls a full, girded tunic. Across his shoulders is buttoned a fur-edged mantle; and his feet are wrapped in cloths, over which shoes of coarsest make are laced. His broad shoulders and powerful frame seem to defy the conqueror's power;

but his crossed hands, his bended head, with its shaggy locks, furrowed brow, and sinister eyes, tell too clearly the story of his captivity. The top of the head is somewhat flattened, so that it is probable that this figure was intended to support some architectural member; and the back, left wholly in the rough, indicates its application against a wall. How interesting the technique of this



Fig. 285. *Barbarian Prisoner. Lateran Museum. Rome.*

statue, which, in its intense and lifelike realism, is a very Tiepolo in ancient art! The black points of measurement (*puntelli*) left in its surface betray a method of copying used also by modern sculptors. Similar points were used in the late time in Greece, as appears from the copy of the Athena Parthenos discovered in 1881, and from a sphinx now in the Theseion Museum at Athens.

While reliefs from Trajan's structures are in the Lateran, comprising intensely realistic wrestlers and a procession of licitors, no sculptures from the time of this emperor are better preserved than those on the triumphal column, 106 feet high, surmounting the tomb where his ashes were laid away in an urn of gold, and erected by the senate and people in 113 A.D. Trajan's Column is composed of twenty-nine blocks of Parian marble, of which eight form the hollow pedestal, below which was the grave proper. Seventeen round blocks hollowed out so as to form a winding stairway within, leading to the top, make up the shaft, which is decorated externally with twenty-three spirals of relief, growing wider at the top to suit the perspective. The column was crowned originally with Trajan's portrait-stature in armor, doubtless somewhat after the man-

ner of the statue of Augustus, and, according to coins, holding in one hand a goddess of Victory, standing on a globe.¹²⁸³ Columns surmounted by a statue had existed in older times, as at Melos, Delos, Olympia, as votive offerings, but nowhere on so extensive a scale as here. On the pedestal of Trajan's Column are represented trophies of war; calling to mind the numerous trophy sculptures of the stoa of Attalos II., at Pergamos, so well represented in the Berlin

Museum, and, no doubt, the models for that style of sculpture which came to be so widely prevalent among the Romans.

In the spiral reliefs, winding like painting on canvas around the column, are twenty-five hundred figures, executed with various degrees of excellence, the scenes represented (one hundred and fourteen in number) being from Trajan's Dacian campaigns. We see the soldiery crossing the Danube, while the river-god, whose breast is washed by the waves, looks out of his cave with astonished mien, as though called up from the depths by the tread of the intruding legions. Infantry and cavalry surround the emperor, who seems to point the way. We see the council of war, and the sending of ambassadors to the Dacian king. In accordance with the Roman custom, Trajan appears sacrificing before well-nigh every encounter. Once the scene is in front of

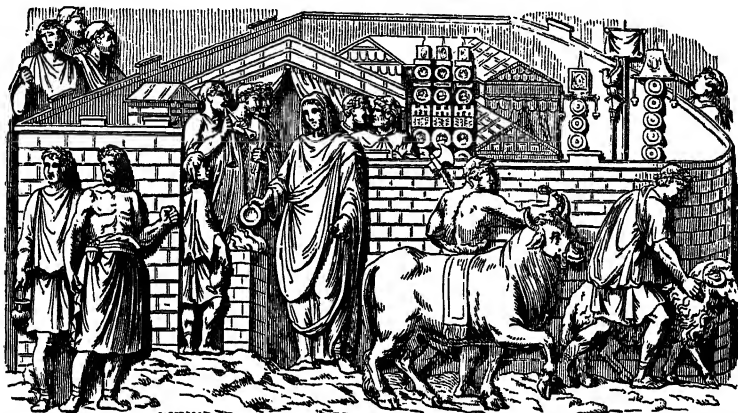


Fig. 286. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column. Trajan Sacrificing.

the imperial tent, the *prætorium* (Fig. 286), near which are planted the standards of the cohorts. These standards are medallions of the emperor, with an eagle, a mural crown, and plaques for the images of the protecting deities of the corps. Other standards appear crowned by an eagle, or composed of rows of *patera*: besides, there is one equestrian banner. Before this camp Trajan, clad in the sacerdotal robes of the Pontifex Maximus, with toga over his head, and right arm bared, pours into the flames a libation from his *patera*, while in the other hand he holds the *lituus*. A long-haired *camillus*, standing with tunic girded short about the waist, and holding ready the vase of wine, looks up at the emperor-priest. The remaining participants are wreathed. One, with cheeks inflated, blows the double flute; and four, probably the *haruspices*, or inspectors of the entrails, stand within. To the right are a strong-chested *victimarius*, with two knives in his pouch, a *camillus* with holy water, and another (not in the engraving) with incense; while beyond are quiet participants in the rites. On the opposite side, six musicians, *bucinatores*, and *tubi*.

cines accompany the sacrifice; only one, however, appearing in the picture. To the emperor's left, we see the beasts for offering. A broad-backed *victimarius*, armed with his hatchet, leads the ox, decked with a wide band; and *camilli* (one only appearing in the cut) are busy with the other animals. Although in many types resembling figures in the sacrificial scenes from Augustus' altar, yet how tame the dealing with the animals here, when compared with those earlier reliefs! In the remaining scenes, we find camps being fortified, while Dacians look on; villages being sacked; hand-to-hand battles being fought; and a storm raging, indicated by Jupiter in the clouds, hurling



Fig. 287. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column. Moving the Catapults.

thunderbolts at the enemy. Again, a spy is led before the emperor; Trajan inspects the forts, addresses the assembled army, or listens to the women with their children, who plead for their land. Again, Roman soldiers care for a wounded comrade, or push along the wagons bearing heavy catapults (Fig. 287), from which missiles are to be discharged; while Trajan, on the hill above, receives Dacian princes sent by their king. Trajan, the moving spirit, appears at least fifty times in these scenes, which are usually marked off by a tree, reaching from the bottom to the top of the relief. Sometimes the details show powerful rendering of minutiae; yet these realistic records are prosaic and wearisome from their general lack of nobility of style and subject.

Once, a nocturnal battle is poetically indicated by the presence of the goddess of Night with drapery on her head; and, in another place, the pleasant form of the goddess of Victory appears. She is surrounded by trophies of war, rests one foot on a helmet, and with the left arm poises on an altar at her side a shield, upon which she records the emperor's deeds.¹²⁸⁴ This figure is clearly taken from some great original with which the sculptor of the column was familiar, since it closely resembles the colossal Victory of Brescia (Fig. 288),—a work probably of the latter half of the first century A.D., and one of the most beautiful bronzes preserved from Roman times.¹²⁸⁵ This statue, in the Museo Patrio in Brescia, a more than life-size bronze (1.95 meters high), was found in 1826, in a pit to the west of the Temple of Vespasian in that city. With it were



Fig. 288. Colossal Bronze Statue of Victory. Brescia.

six bronze busts (five of Romans, and one of Julia, daughter of Titus), all of which seem at some time to have been carefully secreted. Nearly the whole surface of the beautiful Brescia statue shows oxidation; but that it once was gilded, like many of the busts, is shown by marks of gold still left on the right hand, and on the band around her head. All that was missing was the base, the helmet under her feet, and the *stilus* in her right hand.¹²⁸⁶ The right arm, and a part of the left wing, which were broken off, were readily re-adjusted, so that the statue gives us an excellent idea of the grace of a bronze work not tampered with by modern restoration. Her graceful *chiton* drops from her shoulder, and falls in beautiful lines about her form, which only in places has suffered lesions, and is exquisitely reflected through the folds. This figure is probably a variation on an older Aphrodite type, as appears from the pose frequently met with in figures of that goddess, the most familiar being the Venus of Melos; but especially is the resemblance to the Aphrodite type seen in the earnest and beautiful face.¹²⁸⁷ On this older type the master has skilfully varied, by draping her fully, putting into her hands the shield, upon which she writes, and by adjusting to her drapery the large wings, poising well the figure, thus transforming the goddess of love into a Victory. Close inspection reveals silver laurel-leaves inlaid in the band circling her gracefully bended head, and giving still deeper significance to the goddess recording triumph.

From Trajan's rich reign, when sculpture had so much life, reaching a height of realism scarcely equalled again, we pass on to consider the monuments of Hadrian's time (117-138 A.D.). Perhaps no Roman emperor was so generous a patron of the arts as this great successor of Trajan. He is said to have taken about with him an army of sculptors on all his expeditions. And the number of portraits of him, found throughout the vast extent of the Roman dominion, testify to the amount accomplished. Very costly materials were now employed, and great stress laid upon extreme finish and polish. There seems to have been a revulsion against the realistic triumphal scenes of the preceding reign, which are supplanted, for the most part, by a diligent copying of older works in an academic spirit. This spirit is evident in the statues of Hadrian's favorite, Antinous, a Bithynian youth, who was said to have lost his life for the emperor, in the Nile. After him a city was named; to him, throughout the empire, temples were built, and statues erected which bore the attributes of the gods, and were objects of worship. No less than nineteen statues of this beautiful youth exist, besides many busts.¹²⁸⁸ One celebrated relief (Fig. 289) in the Villa Albani, which alone was returned by Napoleon after his despoiling of that gallery, shows an attempt to idealize portrait-features, and also the elegance of the age: but all naturalistic details are smoothed away to empty regularity; the marble does not live, but is left cold and shiny. In this slightly bended head, surrounded by rich, curling locks

falling over the low forehead, in these downcast eyes, and full, luxurious lips, we see no noble self-control, no high-toned character. This is a surfeited nature, at one moment the prey of self-indulgence, at the next of moody fancies, and fully in keeping with the accounts of this spoiled imperial favorite.

As well illustrating the dangerously growing tendency of the time to emphasize the technique, and the use of most obdurate materials, may be mentioned the centaurs of the Capitol, in dark, hard marble, the work of Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias. Here we see brilliant polish, so that the folds are like a counterfeit of metal, as around the centaur's raised leg; and it must be



Fig. 289. Portrait of Antinous. Relief found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Villa Albani.

admitted that the sculptors of Hadrian's time in Rome spared no pains in their work. That the copying of old works increased immensely at this time, is evident, since even old Egyptian art was brought more than ever under contribution by this monarch, who seems to have had a most comprehensive taste.

With the Antonines (139 A.D., ff.) there are clear signs of the marked sinking of artistic power, especially evident in portraiture. The eyeballs begin to be rendered with a realistic roundness, which, in time, becomes most disagreeable, as we see it even in the bronze head of Marcus Aurelius (see Fig. 291), but especially in the marble heads of Septimius Severus (197-211 A.D.). The hair is no longer treated in free, bold masses, but with an attempt to give the individual locks, resulting in heavy marble conglomerates, often looking like honeycomb. The absurd headdress of ladies, piled up to a most unnatural

height, becomes in some cases a movable stone wig, to be put off and on as the fashion changed. This may be seen in busts now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. The changing fashion of the hair, fully represented on coins, enables archæologists to establish the date of many monuments otherwise problematical. Ladies had formerly appeared as draped goddesses: now they affect the form of the nude Venus; but their portrait-faces are in strange and repulsive contrast to the traditional and ideal shape of the goddess.

Of public monuments, from the age of the Antonines, the pedestal of the granite column, put up by Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus in 161 A.D., to the memory of Antoninus Pius, still exists in the Giardino della Pigna, of the Vatican, showing the feeble attainments of the day in semi-ideal as well as in realis-

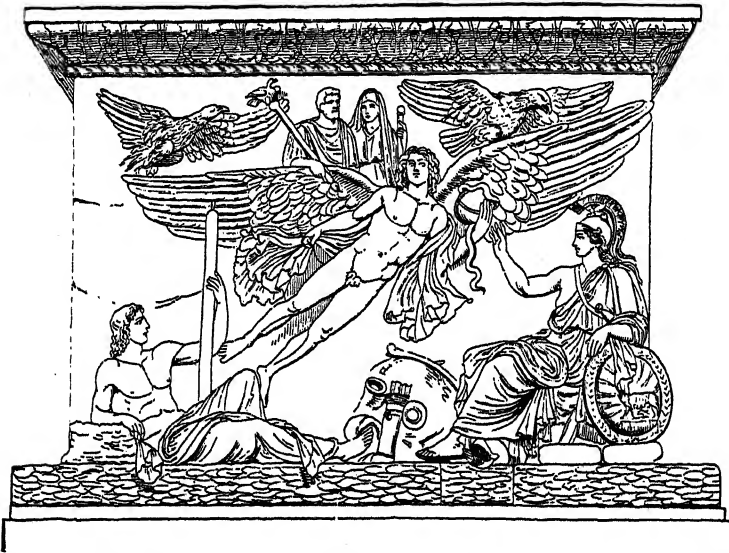


Fig. 290. Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder. Relief from the Base of the Column of Antoninus. Vatican Gardens.

tic scenes. On three sides are funeral celebrations, most puerile in rendering; but on the fourth, in somewhat better work, doubtless because following an old type, is the apotheosis of the sainted emperor and his wife, the elder Faustina (Fig. 290). Roma, with hand raised in adoration, and Romulus and Remus nursing the wolf on her lowered shield, sits on one side; opposite to her, a youth, holding an obelisk, personifies the Campus Martius, and thus localizes the spot where the royal corpses were burned. In the air floats the colossal genius of Eternity, marked as such by his snake and ball, and bearing on his back the small images of Antoninus and of the veiled Faustina, accompanied by two eagles, the symbols of their upward-flying souls. Although, when explained, the scene is not lacking in a certain interest, still how cold and disagreeable the tremendous lines of the genius of Eternity, how little movement

in the outstretched form, and how lacking the whole in warm originality and artistic fire!

The reign of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) must have been favorable for the multiplication of sculptural works. But the reliefs on his column on the Piazza Colonna, illustrating his wars against the Marcomanni and neighboring tribes, are clearly but a coarse imitation of those of Trajan's Column. The healthy, agreeable realism of the earlier monument degenerates here into an approach to vulgarity; the relief which is higher is so thoroughly chronicle-like, that even stalls and the like are represented, while the spirited battles and marches of the former work give place to insupportably monotonous ones. One scene alone breaks the tedium, and that not by its beauty, but its associations. It is where the winged, bearded god, Jupiter Pluvius, with outstretched hands, pours down rain upon the thirsty Roman soldiery, as the story is, in answer to the prayer of a legion of Christian soldiery. A triumphal arch to Marcus Aurelius was torn down in 1662, by Pope Alexander VII., as it interfered with the horse-races in the Corso; but its reliefs are preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. They are also, clearly, copies of the far nobler works on Trajan's arch. Here we see Marcus Aurelius offering to Jupiter, going in procession to the Capitol, freeing prisoners, and being received by Roma; but both the composition and execution fall far short of the picturesque, realistic older works.^{1288a}

The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol (Fig. 291) is clearly a portrait of the emperor and of a favorite battle-horse. Thanks to the prevalent belief that the horse belonged to the Christian Emperor Constantine, this bronze work has escaped destruction. Although a fine specimen of late Roman work, yet, compared with the four splendid steeds now in front of St. Mark's in Venice, which are probably from the time of Nero, how prosaic this horse and his harsh muscles, and how clear the prophecy of artistic decline!

During this time of the Antonines, there came into very general use a set of monuments, affording many attractive scenes, even though for the most part their execution is very mechanical. These are the sarcophagi, found in such numbers in Roman and other tombs. They seem, indeed, to have been kept in store, with a vacant space sometimes left for the addition of the features and inscription of the deceased who should occupy them. From the end of the republic to the time of Trajan, simple portrait-busts in a niche, alongside of each other, had formed the prevailing type for funeral monuments, possibly originating in the old wax masks of the ancestors. This simple, straightforward portraiture seems a true child of the Roman spirit, as admirably illustrated in that couple in the Vatican, called Cato and Porcia. When the custom of burial became common, in the second century A.D., this simple type was given up, for the most part, but the bust was frequently carved on the face of the sarcophagus, or the whole figure made to recline on its top. These sarcophagi were

also used in the Greek world, having been found in Athens, Lykia, Ephesos, Crete, and elsewhere; and it is illustrative of the nobler taste in Greece, that, though sarcophagi were probably not employed before the prevalence of the Roman dominion, the Greeks did not, like the Romans, sacrifice the beauty of



Fig. 291. Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. Capitol, Rome.

the architectural idea of the tomb, to an inordinate display of reliefs.¹²⁸⁹ The mouldings are more emphasized, and the sarcophagus itself is made to stand above ground by the roadside, a worthy successor of the tomb-chapel. Around it, most frequently, cupids twine garlands, or sport in childish grace, thoroughly subordinated, however, to the lines of the pronounced cornices. But, as was the case on Roman triumphal arches and columns, so on the sarcophagi of

Rome, and, as we have seen, also on those of Etruria, the sculpture runs riot, blotting out every line which could give framing and character to the composition. Sometimes around all four sides, but most frequently around but three,—one being set up against the wall of the grave-chamber,—run the exuberant reliefs; the subjects being taken from mythology, daily life, and war. We see prisoners led before the emperor, or a battle-scene raging between Romans and Gauls, apparently a bit transferred from some triumphal arch or column to the tomb. Such is the scene (Fig. 292) on the body of the sarcophagus,



Fig. 292. Sarcophagus. A Battle between Barbarians and Romans, and mourning or bound Prisoners. Capitol, Rome.

now in the Capitol at Rome, found in the field of Amendola, showing us a barbarian king killing himself, under the legs of his enemy's horse, as in a relief on Trajan's Column, while above, on the cover, are mourning and bound prisoners. A very few scenes from daily life, such as reaping, baking, manufacturing of oil, building, and maritime trade, or scenes from the games or the circus, appear on these resting-places of the dead.

By far the greater part of the subjects are from Greek mythology; for their instruction in which, the late sculptors, it is thought, had hand-books containing the purport of ancient epics and tragedy. It is noticeable, that Roman myth is most rarely represented, and, when so, it is usually in a thoroughly Greek garb. Among the most fruitful subjects are the stories of Adonis, the Amazons, Ares, Aphrodite, Eros, and other gods. Ares is frequently changed

to Mars, and Aphrodite to Rhea, who sometimes has the portrait-features of the deceased. Many are the scenes from Bacchic myth. The god is cared for in his childhood, he finds the sleeping Ariadne, or celebrates his Indian triumph, riding on a chariot drawn by elephants, preceded and followed by merry satyrs and mænads. Sometimes Selene finds the sleeping Endymion, or leaves him. Again, Core is carried off by Pluton. So the tragic story of Meleager or of Phaëthon are frequently repeated, or we see Apollo and the Muses, while Marsyas is hung to the tree to be flayed. The fate of Niobe's family is frequently represented, as well as the stories of Alkestis and Hippolyte, Medea and Andromeda; scenes, no doubt, referring to the fleeting nature of life, and sometimes to re-union after death. Theban and Trojan myth also appear; from the latter, the Judgment of Paris, and Odysseus with the Sirens and the Kyclops, being very frequent. Favorite subjects are the labors of Heracles; and, for children's



Fig. 293. Relief on Sarcophagus. From the Villa Pamfili. Capitol, Rome.

sarcophagi, the merry play of winged Loves, who appear as workmen, as athletes, as gathering the grape and the olive, or, in the guise of gods, as wearing the attributes of Dionysos, Ares, Heracles, etc. Sometimes the story of Eros and Psyche is pictured in full detail, and very often cupids or nereids hold the medallion with the portrait of the deceased. For the artistic representation of these varied scenes, the sculptors seem to have followed traditional types, — sometimes those taken from old pictures, sometimes ideals furnished by celebrated statues and reliefs. They copied parts of friezes, pediments, and the like, grouping them to suit the occasion, and frequently repeated the same subject with slight variations. Thus, one of the most perfectly executed existing sarcophagi, that now in Vienna, and originally from Ephesos, represents an Amazon struggle, which is almost an exact copy of several figures on the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos. The influence of the frieze of Pergamon is traceable also in many sarcophagi, the Heracles strangling a lion, and the forms of the giants being taken.

But the great importance of this world of minor art is, that it is the mirror for us of greater creations gone before, so that, through it, much of the past of sculpture, otherwise lost, may be traced. This appears in a most feebly exe-

cuted sarcophagus in the Capitol, which, besides, lets us into the philosophical ideas of the Neo-Platonists, but is unintelligible without explanatory comment (Fig. 293). On it we see, in mytho-allegorical form, the history of man. On the front, not represented in the cut, are the four elements, Vulcan, Ocean, Æolus, and Terra, and among them Amor and Psyche. Then follows (Fig. 293) Prometheus forming man, a stiff little image on his lap, into whom Athena puts the soul in the form of a butterfly. Her olive and owl accompany her, and the little living mortal stands at her feet. Above, we see two of the Fates, and beyond Athena the unhappy death-scene. Here the mortal lies dead; at his head sits Nemesis, recording his deeds; the genius of the grave leans over him, and the sombre shade stands in colossal size behind. The little butterfly-winged soul is led by Hermes to Hades; and beyond, curiously filling up the space, is the freeing of Prometheus by Heracles on Caucasos. These two figures clearly go back to a common original, probably a picture which also suggested the small group of a similar subject discovered in Pergamon (Fig. 240).



Fig. 294. Relief from the Arch of Constantine. The Emperor addresses the People.

Recurring to the historical monuments, we find that, in Rome, the decline after Commodus was very rapid. The oft-repeated portrait of Caracalla, the finest sample of which is in the Berlin Museum (Selections, Plate XX.), seems the last important production in this dark era; and in looking at its brutal features, rendered with fierce realism and power, we seem to feel that before its terrible gaze the last breath of gentleness and poetic life must have fled from Roman workshops.

The triumphal arch on the Forum, built to Septimius Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, in honor of victories won over the Parthians, 201 B.C., shows great weakness of composition. Four large pictures, over which straggle feeble forms, seem set into the building; and under them a narrow strip, showing offerings and the like.

If we cast a glimpse at those parts of Constantine's arch, executed in his age, 312 A.D., we feel indeed, that the hand had lost its cunning (Fig. 284). The mighty current of artistic production is reduced to a mere muddy rivulet. Comparing the one scene (Fig. 294), where Constantine addresses the people,

with the fiery reliefs close by, from Trajan's arch, with their correct drawing, we realize this poverty of artistic power.

The tracing, step by step, this gradual decline of so great an art, is a painful task. Perhaps in no monument does this decadence appear more forcibly than in the colossal porphyry sarcophagus of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, which, because she was a Christian saint, was brought from her mausoleum, the so-called Torre Pignattara, and now is in the Vatican. It was restored by order of Pius VI., and twenty-five stone-cutters required nine years to bring the obdurate material into its present shape. Here (Fig. 295) are the busts of the emperor and his mother, and a widely scattered battle-scene, in which the pose



Fig. 295. Colossal Sarcophagus of St. Helena, in red porphyry. Vatican.

of horses and warriors is fairly amusing, as we see them suspended in mid-air and straggling along the surface, while the unhappy enemy kneel, squat, or fall between them. Winged genii on the lid struggle with festoons; others sit at the corners, and a lion reclines on the top.

In Rome, the history of sculpture seems, from the time of Constantine, well-nigh extinct. But let us not imagine this to have been the case everywhere throughout the ancient world.¹²⁹⁰ Could we take up in detail its unwritten and scarcely heeded course in Gaul, in Germany, in Spain, and even in far-off Brittany, we should find, that, when Rome went down, art in the younger Western world still survived, and through the long night of darkness was waiting for a new and glorious dawn.

APPENDIX.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

INDEX OF CITATIONS FROM GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

GENERAL INDEX.

TABLES OF MUSEUMS.

In the notes, many works are referred to in an abbreviated form, of which the fuller titles are as follows:—

- Ann. d. Inst.*—Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.
Bull. d. Inst.—Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.
Mon. d. Inst.—Monumenti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Roma. From 1829, in progress.
Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.—Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts in Athen. From 1876, in progress.
Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.—Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, Wien. From 1875, in progress.
Arch. Zeit.—Archaeologische Zeitung, Denkmäler und Forschungen, Berlin. From 1849, in progress.
C. I. G.—Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, Berlin. From 1828.
Bull. de Corr. Hell.—Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique de l'École Française à Athènes, Paris. From 1876, in progress.
Brunn, Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.—Heinrich Brunn, Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler, vol. i., 1857; vol. ii., 1859.
Ross. Arch. Auf.—Ross, Archaeologische Aufsätze, Berlin, 1839.
Ant. Schriftg.—J. Overbeck, Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen. Leipzig, 1868.
Gaz. Arch.—Gazette Archéologique, Paris. From 1880, in progress.
Revue Arch.—Revue Archéologique, Paris. From 1844, in progress.
Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.—Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London. From 1872, in progress.
Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.—Sitzungs-Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Leipzig.
Abh. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.—Abhandlungen der Königl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. München.
Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.—Sitzungs-Berichte der Königl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. München.
Monats. Ber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.—Monats-Berichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.—Abhandlung der Königl. Preussischen Akademie zu Berlin.
Jour. of Hell. Stud.—Journal of Hellenic Studies, London. From 1880, in progress.
Paus.—Pausanias Descriptio Græciæ. Recognovit Ioh. Henr. Christ. Schubart, 2 vols., Lipsiæ (1853-54), 1875.
Plin.—C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiæ libri xxxvii. Recognovit L. Janus, 6 vols., Lipsiæ, 1854-65 (ed. C. Mayhoff, 1870-75).

In the spelling of Greek names throughout this work, the aim has been to give, as accurately as is consistent with the values of English letters, the ancient spelling and pronunciation; with, however, certain important exceptions. Perfect consistency in transliteration would have led, on the one hand, to grave inaccuracies, and, on the other, to absurdities. An endeavor has accordingly been made to strike the mean; and, while remaining sufficiently faithful to the original Greek, to pay due regard to the clear analogies of English spelling. In the case of many proper names having well-established English forms, some of which are genuinely English, use has been made of the traditional form. This class of words includes:—

- (a) Many geographical names: as, *Athens, Rhodes, Corinth, Cyprus, Paestum, Tarentum, Ægina*.
 (b) Many names of persons: (1) Mostly foreigners (i.e., non-Greek); as, *Cyrus, Horus*. (2) A few Greeks; as, *Æsop, Æschylus, Ptolemy, Lucian, Epaminondas*.
 (c) A few names of objects; as, *Mausoleum*.

In the case, however, of most Greek names, especially of persons and of unfamiliar localities, when the current spelling more or less disguises or misrepresents the ancient pronunciation, transliteration has been so introduced as to indicate, at least approximately, this ancient pronunciation. At the same time, prevalent English usage has been followed as far as might be: thus, as the Greek *κ* has long been represented in English words by *c*, wherever the pronunciation of this *c* would be that of *k*, the familiar *c* has been retained, as in *Polycleitros*, etc.; when, however, *c* would not be pronounced as *k* (before *e, i, y*), *k* has been used, as in *Sikyon, Alkibiades*.

ai is given by *ai*, except sometimes when final, as in the suffix *idæ*, which is now English: thus, *Daidalos, Horai, Thespiæi*, but *Peisistratidæ*.

ei is given by *ei*; *ov*, by *on*; *oi*, by *oi*; *os*, by *as*; *ov*, regularly by *u*,—as in *Heracleitos, Theseion, Dipoinos, Thukydides, Selinus*.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

- P. 4. ¹⁾ Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, p. 2. Paris, 1875.
- ²⁾ R. S. Poole, *The Cities of Egypt*, p. 5. "The rate of increase of the soil is about four inches and a half in a century."
- P. 5. ³⁾ Herodotos, ii. 5. For accurate account of overflow, *vid.* Osburn, *The Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 9-14.
- ⁴⁾ R. Hartmann's *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1872, vii. S. 437-537; and Bastian und Hartmann's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, i. S. 23-45, S. 135-156, ii. S. 85-111. Maspero, op. c. p. 17. Lepsius, "Ueber die Annahme eines sogenannten prehistorischen Steinalters in Egypten," in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1870, S. 113.
- ⁵⁾ Renan, *Histoire comparée des Langues Sémitiques*, i. 2, § 4.
- ⁶⁾ Bonomi, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* London, vol. iv. p. 251.
- P. 6. ⁷⁾ Mariette, *Karnak, Étude topographique et archéologique*, p. 42.
- ⁸⁾ *Records of the Past*: being English translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, published under the sanction of the Soc. of Bib. Arch., London, vol. ii. p. 70. "War of Rameses II. with the Kheta," by Professor E. L. Lushington.
- ⁹⁾ Exod. i. 11. R. S. Poole, *Discoveries in Tell-el-Maschuta*, in the *Academy*, London, No. 564, pp. 6, 133, and No. 566, p. 176.
- P. 7. ¹⁰⁾ Much of the architecture is most shabbily put together, as appears on columns where the outer coating is torn off; this feature being a great contrast to the careful workmanship in Greek buildings. *Vid.* Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, p. 59.
- ¹¹⁾ Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, tome i. p. 173.
- ¹²⁾ Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique d'après les Sources Égyptiennes et les Monuments*, 2d ed., p. 323.
- P. 8. ¹³⁾ Pharaoh born of Phtah. *Vid.* Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 119.
- ¹⁴⁾ F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*, tome i. p. 277. Instance of difference in size, kings before pylons and in courts, and the usual figures of gods in metal or stone.
- ¹⁵⁾ F. Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne*, tome i. p. 485.
- ¹⁶⁾ Mariette, *Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos découvertes pendant les Fouilles de cette Ville*, Paris, 1880, p. 28.
- ¹⁷⁾ *Records of the Past*, ii. p. 98. Insc. of Pianchi Mer-Amon.
- ¹⁸⁾ Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 42.
- P. 9. ¹⁹⁾ Maspero, *Bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Association scientifique de France*, No. 594; *Étude sur quelques Textes relatifs aux Funérailles*, Paris, 1880; "Histoire des Âmes dans l'Égypte ancienne," in *Revue Scientifique*, 1879, p. 817. P. LePage Renouf, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vi. pp. 494-508.
- ²⁰⁾ P. LePage Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 128.
- ²¹⁾ Picrret, *Le Dogme de la Résurrection*, p. 10.
- ²²⁾ Maspero, *Geschichte der Morgenländischen Völker*, übersetzt v. R. Pietschmann, S. 88.
- P. 10. ²³⁾ This fact was kindly communicated to me by Dr. Samuel Birch.
- ²⁴⁾ Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des Antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, pp. 123, 151.
- ²⁵⁾ The hungry *eidolon* of the Greeks, and the dreaded shade of the Romans, also required, for future happiness, food and drink. Even as late as Demosthenes' time, neglect in feeding the dead was thought to bring disaster upon the whole city: *vid.* Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 14 (Amer. ed., pp. 17, 21); and Perrot, *L'Éloquence politique et judiciaire à Athènes*, pp. 359-364. The Chinaman of to-day, in response to this spirit common to all naïve peoples, puts dishes of savory viands on the graves of his deceased friends.

- P. 10. ²⁶) Rhind, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, chap. v.
- ²⁷) P. LePage Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 127.
- ²⁸) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Musée d'Antiquités Égyptiennes à Boulaq*, 3d ed. 1869, p. 25.
- ²⁹) Mariette, *Revue Arch.* T. xix. 1869, pp. 1-22, and pp. 81-89; and *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, published by Maspero after the death of Mariette.
- P. 11. ³⁰) Chabas, *Congrès provincial des Orientalistes Français, Compte-rendu de la première Session*, 1875.
- ³¹) Maspero, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 6-36; and *vid.* Note 19.
- ³²) Such is one of the three tombs removed to Berlin by Lepsius, and put up in the Museum as it originally stood. It shows that the sculptor did not have time to complete his work.
- P. 12. ³³) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments à Boulaq*, 3d ed., p. 28.
- ³⁴) Among these are Nos. 590-594 Salle de l'Ouest, and Nos. 772-776 Salle de l'Est, of the Museum at Boulaq.
- ³⁵) Dümichen, *Resultate der auf Befehl S. Maj. des Königs Wilhelm I. v. Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten archäologischen-photographischen Expedition*, S. iii. Taf. xi.
- ³⁶) Dümichen, op. c. Taf. viii.-xv.
- P. 13. ³⁷) Mariette, *Tombs de l'ancien Empire*, p. 17.
- ³⁸) *Vid.* Note 31.
- ³⁹) *Records of the Past*, xii. p. 123. This papyrus (i. 371 of Leyden) was found by Maspero in a Theban tomb. "To transmit the writ to Ament, the aggrieved husband probably read it first aloud, and then tied it to her statue." By this we are reminded of a curious custom existing in the Church of the Jesuit College at Rome, where St. Aloysius is buried. On his festival it is usual for the college-students to write letters to him, which are placed on his altar sealed, and afterwards burned unopened. *Vid.* Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 111.
- ⁴⁰) Miss Amelia B. Edwards in *Academy*, Feb. 18, 1882, where the pyramid of Meidoom is proved to be Snefroo's tomb.
- ⁴¹) De Rougé, *Recherches sur les Monuments que l'on peut attribuer aux six premières Dynasties de Ménéphion*, p. 41.
- P. 14. ⁴²) "Le Monument du Sphinx à Gizeh," par Compte du Barry de Merval; *Revue Archéologique*, nouv. ser., tome xxvi. pp. 237-255; and Mariette for history of the Great Sphinx, *Questions relatifs aux nouvelles Fouilles*.
- P. 15. ⁴³) Maspero, *Hist. anc. des Peup. de l'Orient*, p. 29.
- P. 15. ⁴⁴) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, p. 120.
- ⁴⁵) Maspero, op. c. p. 27.
- ⁴⁶) Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 16.
- ⁴⁷) Arundale, Bonomi, Birch, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, p. 49. P. LePage Renouf, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 237.
- ⁴⁸) Compare Michellet, *L'Oiseau*, the chapter on Eputation.
- P. 16. ⁴⁹) *Vid.* Note 47.
- ⁵⁰) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments du Boulaq*, p. 116.
- ⁵¹) Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. pp. 1-8.
- P. 17. ⁵²) Maspero, *Gesch. d. Morg. Völkern*, uber. v. R. Pietschmann, S. 50, Anm. 1. Naville, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. p. 8, about King Ra in the tomb of Seti I.
- P. 18. ⁵³) Soldi, *La Sculpture Égyptienne*, p. 48; and *Les Arts méconnus*, p. 408.
- P. 19. ⁵⁴) Rhonés, *Promenades aux Musée de Saint-Germain*, p. 156. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, etc., 2d ed., pp. 376, 396. Soldi, *Les Arts méconnus*, pp. 492, 494. Villiers Stuart found agates about tombs of very early dynasties at Meidoom: *vid.* his *Nile Gleanings*.
- ⁵⁵) No monuments show color more brilliantly than do the statues in the Museum at Boolak.
- P. 20. ⁵⁶) Maspero's divisions of Egyptian history are here followed: *vid.* Maspero, *Hist. des Anc. Peup.* etc., pp. 52, 53.
- P. 21. ⁵⁷) F. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, tome i. p. 195.
- P. 22. ⁵⁸) Mariette, *Notice des principaux Monuments à Boulaq*, 2d ed., pp. 207-209. The hawk of Horus and ibis of Thoth, restored in this temple, were in wood; the statue of Isis was principally of gold and silver; and that of Ichorus was of wood with eyes of stone, p. 205.
- ⁵⁹) Mariette, op. c. No. 994.
- P. 23. ⁶⁰) Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, p. 47.
- P. 24. ⁶¹) *Vid.* Note 58.
- P. 26. ⁶²) This dwarf is well illustrated by Rayct, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*. Compare also Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*; and Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Academy*, 1883, June 23, p. 441.
- ⁶³) These statues are represented unitedly in Mariette's *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20.
- P. 27. ⁶⁴) M. de Longperier, *Compte-rendu de l'Acad. des Ins.* 1875, p. 375. This choice bronze is now owned by the Louvre. *Academy*, June 16, 1883.
- P. 29. ⁶⁵) No. 35 North Vestibule, British Museum.
- P. 30. ⁶⁶) Mariette, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, Cairo, 1871, pl. 12.
- P. 31. ⁶⁷) Rhoné, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, p. 64. Attempts to render a truer profile may be seen

- in Mariette's *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, tome ii. pl. 52; and in Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, tomo primo, No. cxliv.
- P. 32. ⁶⁷⁾ Sumptuous illustrations of all this are to be found in Prisse d'Avenne's *L'Histoire de l'Art Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879.
- ⁶⁸⁾ Maspero, *Moniteur Égyptien*, mars 15, 1881.
- ⁶⁹⁾ In *Ordnance Survey of Sinai*, by S. H. James, vol. iii, Dr. Samuel Birch treats of photograph No. 5 representing Khoofoo and Thoth.
- P. 33. ⁷⁰⁾ *Stèle* of Thothmes about restoration of Sphinx: Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, v. Taf. 68; *vid.* Note 38.
- ⁷¹⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 77. "Est autem sax naturalī elaborata. rubrica facies monstri colitur."
- P. 35. ⁷²⁾ It is remarked by travellers, that the population in the vicinity of Lake Menzaleh, in Northern Egypt, has, until recently, been exempt from taxation, on the plea of being strangers in the land. This circumstance, in connection with the difference of their type from that of the rest of the Egyptians, has led some scholars to consider them descendants of the Hyksos strangers. *Vid.* Ebers, *L'Égypte*, T. i. p. 108 (Eng. ed.). The influence of the Asiatic Orient on Egypt in art is shown in v. Sybel's *Kritik des Aegyptischen Ornamente*, Marburg, 1883. By a comparison of the minor motives of decoration appearing in the New Theban empire with those of the older times, he shows that the Egyptians, by their great conquests, doubtless became acquainted with the more voluptuous forms of the Orient, and were greatly influenced by its metallo-plastic art.
- P. 36. ⁷³⁾ Mariette, *Abydos, Description des Fouilles exécutées sur l'Emplacement de cette Ville*, tome i. 1862, tome ii. 1880.
- P. 37. ⁷⁴⁾ Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. New ed., corrected by S. Birch, vol. ii p. 305
- ⁷⁵⁾ R. Pietschmann, *Der Aegyptische Fetischdienst*, S. 155. Birch, *Archæological Journal*, No. 156. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, tome ii. p. 12. The majority of the *shabti* date from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (the seventh century B.C.); but a few, it is believed, mount up to as high an antiquity as the Twelfth Dynasty.
- P. 39. ⁷⁶⁾ Herodotos, ii. 149.
- ⁷⁷⁾ Mariette, *Karnak*, pp. 42-45.
- P. 41. ⁷⁸⁾ *Verzeichniss der Aegyptischen Alterthümer des Berliner Museums*, Nos. 8-10.
- ⁷⁹⁾ Mariette, *Revue Arch.*, tome vi. p. 299. A fine cast of this group is in the Berlin Museum.
- P. 42. ⁸⁰⁾ For more exact date of Rameses II., *vid.* R. S. Poole, *Academy*, March 13, 1883. Lauth, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 14, 1882, gives 1325 B.C., in the reign of Rameses III., as the only certain date in the Nineteenth Dynasty.
- P. 43. ⁸¹⁾ Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptienne*, p. 417. The colossal red-granite fist of one of these statues is now in the British Museum.
- P. 44. ⁸²⁾ These later reliefs are fully illustrated in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, 1833-1845. Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto et de la Nubie*, 1832. Lepsius, *Denkmaler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der im 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expeditionen erläutert*, Berlin, 1849.
- P. 46. ⁸³⁾ *Vid.* Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Academy*, June 23, 1883.
- P. 49. ⁸⁴⁾ Mariette, *Catalogue général Abydos*, p. 28.
- P. 52. ⁸⁵⁾ Mariette, *op. c.* p. 2.
- P. 53. ⁸⁶⁾ Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 16. Nearly every Egyptian museum has some figures of this lion-headed goddess from Karnak.
- ⁸⁷⁾ Mariette, *Catalogue général Abydos*, p. 2.
- ⁸⁸⁾ Mariette, *op. c.* p. 3.
- P. 56. ⁸⁹⁾ This relief is most beautifully represented in Mariette's *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, tome i. pl. 23.
- P. 58. ⁹⁰⁾ Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, tome i. p. 630 (Eng. ed., *History of Egyptian Art*, vol. ii. p. 177).
- P. 59. ⁹¹⁾ Maspero, "The *Stèle C* 14 of the Louvre," *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* v. pp. 555-562.
- ⁹²⁾ Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1876, Sept und Oct.
- P. 60. ⁹³⁾ Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, Abtheilung iii. Taf. 100. My thanks for the explanation of the accompanying hieroglyphics, which are only partially represented in the cut, I owe to Dr. Ludwig Stern.
- P. 61. ⁹⁴⁾ *Vid.* Note 53.
- P. 62. ⁹⁵⁾ *Vid.* Note 74.
- P. 65. ⁹⁶⁾ Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*, 2d ed., 1866, p. 41.
- P. 66. ⁹⁷⁾ Mariette, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 10.
- P. 67. ⁹⁸⁾ Soldi, *La Sculpture Égyptienne*, p. 90. Dairemberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecs et Romains*, s. v. Canon.
- ⁹⁹⁾ Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art Égypt.* p. 251.
- P. 71. ¹⁰⁰⁾ The principal works on Mesopotamia and its art are Botta et Flandin, *Monuments de Ninwé*, Paris, 1849. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849, London; *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1850, London; *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, London. Place, *Ninwé et l'Assyrie*, avec essais de restauration, par F. Thomas, Paris, 1865. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana in 1849-1852*, London, 1857. Fresnel, Thomas,

- et Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, de 1851 à 1854, Paris, 1860. Rassam, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 37-58. Le drain, *Les Antiquités Chaldéennes du Louvre*, desc. de la coll. Sarzec, Paris, 1883.
- P. 71. ¹⁰¹) G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vol. i. p. 7.
- P. 72. ¹⁰²) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 6.
- ¹⁰³) Layard, *Recherches sur le Culte de Mithra*, pl. 62. 1, 2; 17. 2; 31. 5. *Discoveries in Nineveh*, etc., 1853, p. 343. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. pl. 3. 6. 1 Sam. v. 4. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, *Abhandlung d. Kon. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1879, S. 96-99.
- P. 73. ¹⁰⁴) G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, ed. by Rev. A. H. Sayce, 1880, p. 175.
- ¹⁰⁵) Hommel, *Academy*, Feb. 25, 1882.
- ¹⁰⁶) *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* iv. p. 268.
- ¹⁰⁷) For Assyrian idea of future life, see Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*: and Boscawen, "On the Assyrian Belief in the Immortality of the Soul," *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* v. p. 565, where we are told that "reclining on couches," "drinking pure liquors," and "feeding on rich foods," are the pastimes of a future existence. Concerning Izdhubar Legends, told on Tigris, *vid.* G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 168.
- ¹⁰⁸) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 33.
- P. 74. ¹⁰⁹) F. Lenormant, *Gaz. Arch.* tome ii. p. 131, tome iv. p. 22. Talbot, *Records of the Past*, v. p. 161, "War of Seven Evil Spirits against Heaven."
- ¹¹⁰) Soldi, *Revue Arch.*, nouv. ser., tome xxvii. p. 115.
- ¹¹¹) Max Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 3d ed. Bd. i. S. 272.
- ¹¹²) *Vid.* F. Lenormant, Zarpanit, *Gaz. Arch.* tome iv. p. 74, and Nanæa, tome ii. p. 12. Heuzey, *Les Terres-cuites Babylonniennes*, *Revue Arch.* Jan. 1880.
- P. 75. ¹¹³) De Sarzec's explorations noticed, *Revue Arch.* July and Nov. 1881, by Heuzey. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, tome xxiv. p. 496, by Ménant. M. de Sarzec's report of his explorations is still in preparation.
- P. 76. ¹¹⁴) Oppert, *Revue Arch.* Nov. 1881, p. 271. M. Rassam, in 1883, sent some alabaster figures from Chaldæa to England, which are of great interest in further indicating an intercourse between Egypt and Mesopotamia at a very early date. Among these is a female figure with a lotos-blossom in each hand held to the breast, and another figure with hair dressed in the shape of an Egyptian wig. Very archaic cuneiform inscriptions in Accadian, on these figures, teach us that their age must be very great.
- P. 76. ¹¹⁵) Solomon, in like manner, seems to have been proud of the trees brought from afar for his temple.
- P. 77. ¹¹⁶) Similarly draped figures are seen in a painting of one of the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, at Beni-hassan, where strangers are evidently represented coming from a far-off land to an Egyptian Pharaoh. *Vid.* Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égypt.* pl. cix.
- P. 79. ¹¹⁷) One of these bronzes has been published by Pinches in the *American Art Review*, vol. i. p. 54.
- P. 80. ¹¹⁸) Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849, p. 120.
- P. 81. ¹¹⁹) "The Monument and Inscriptions on the Rocks at Nahr-el-Kelb," Boscawen, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 337.
- P. 82. ¹²⁰) F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire*, p. 109.
- P. 84. ¹²¹) All the Assyrian sculptures in the United States are mentioned and discussed by Rev. Selah Merrill, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1875, April, p. 343.
- P. 86. ¹²²) Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1850, p. 125.
- ¹²³) Schrader, *Monatsbericht der Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Mai, 1881, S. 426: "Ladanum und Palme auf den Assyrischen Monumenten."
- P. 88. ¹²⁴) A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 86.
- ¹²⁵) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 348.
- P. 89. ¹²⁶) Published by T. G. Pinches, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* viii. p. 85; and *American Art Review*, i. p. 54.
- P. 90. ¹²⁷) Victor Place, *Ninivé et l'Assyrie*, Paris, 1865, tome i. p. 12.
- P. 91. ¹²⁸) Babel means "gate of god," and not "confusion;" *vid.* F. Delitzsch, *Athenæum*, May 12, 1883, p. 604. In Mosul, the gate, even to the present, has preserved its significance; the governor of the city there hearing cases, and receiving foreign guests, as he did M. Place.
- P. 93. ¹²⁹) F. Delitzsch, l. c. M. Place, after thoroughly examining this most interesting gate, took it to pieces to remove it to the Louvre. Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome i. p. 172. Our picturesque illustration (Fig. 46) was produced by the combination of the architectural drawing, in Place, *Ninivé*, tome iii. pl. 11, and the natural perspective of two Khorsabad bulls in the British Museum.
- P. 94. ¹³⁰) Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome iii. pl. 31 bis.
- ¹³¹) Philostratus speaks of such carpets, and states that they were in time supplanted by metal reliefs; in Babylon they were to be seen side by side. From such patterns it was but a step to

- the use of stone incrustations. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.* i. 25, p. 15 (34 Olear., vol. i. p. 28 Kayser).
- P. 97. ^{132a}) Illustrated in Place, *Ninivé*, etc., tome iii. pl. 57. 2.
- P. 104. ^{132b}) The only illustrations of this art were long Coste et Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*; and Texier, *Description de l'Arménie et de la Perse*, etc. A few casts are in the British Museum; but a vivid and accurate idea of the monuments at Persepolis may at last be gained from the heliotype reproductions published in Noldeke's *Persepolis: Die Achemenischen und Sassanidischen Denkmäler*, etc., phot. v. F. Stolze. 1882, 1883, Berlin.
- P. 105. ¹³³) A small cut is to be seen of this imposing relief, in Coste et Flandin's *Voyages*; and it is reported that casts are being taken for the Berlin Museum. *Records of the Past*, vii. p. 85, Median version of the Behistan inscription.
- P. 108. ¹³⁴) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 272.
- P. 111. ¹³⁵) Max Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. S. 339 (Eng. ed.).
- ^{135a}) For a most interesting summary of what is known of ancient dyes, *vid.* "Alt und Neue Farbstoffe," by V. v. Muller, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1882, Beilagen 34, 35.
- P. 112. ¹³⁶) Gen. xxiii. 16, xvii. 12, 27.
- ¹³⁷) Movers, *Die Phonicier*, iii. S. 258, 268. Precious stones from Babylon, Ezek. xxvii. 16, 19.
- ¹³⁸) *Odyssey*, xv. 454.
- P. 113. ¹³⁹) Helbig, "Cenni sopra l'arte Fenicia." *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 13, and 1879, p. 5.
- ¹⁴⁰) 1 Kings v. 6.
- ¹⁴¹) Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris, 1864-1874; and *Musée Napoléon, choix des monuments antiques pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Orient et Occident*, par A. de Longperier, pl. xvi, xvii.
- ¹⁴²) Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 47, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 334. Griffins, pub. Longperier, *Musée Nap.* pl. xviii.
- P. 115. ¹⁴³) 1 Kings x. 18, xxii. 39.
- ¹⁴⁴) Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 45.
- ¹⁴⁵) The objects found in the Regulini Galassi tomb are published, Grifi, *Monumenti di Cere Museo Gregoriano*, i. 11, 15-20, 62-67, 75-77, 82-85. Those in the Grotta d'Iside, Micali, *Monumenti inediti*, etc., Tav. 4, 5, 1, 2, 6-8; Braun, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843, p. 350; *Bull. d. Inst.* 1844, p. 106. Tombs in Veio published, Garucci, *Archeologia*, xli. (1867) i. p. 187, Tav. iii.-xiii. Tombs in Palæstrina, Braun, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1855, Tav. xlv. Henzen, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1855, p. 74. Brunn, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii, xxviii.; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, pp. 407-421, Tav. d'agg. G, H. Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1876, pp. 117-131; *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. xxxi.-xxxiii.; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, pp. 197-257, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. 2; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 6, Tav. d'agg. C. For Chiusi tombs, *vid.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874, pp. 203-210. For Poggio alla Sala, Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1877, pp. 193-196; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, pp. 296-301, Tav. d'agg. Q, R. Sovana monuments, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 48. Salerno monuments, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 8; *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. Tav. xlv. 1.
- P. 115. ¹⁴⁶) Besides the nineteen bowls found on European soil, may be noted the thirteen found at Nimroud; *vid.* Milchhofer, *Anfänge*, etc., S. 147, Anm. 1. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2d ser. pl. 57, 58. Clermont-Ganneau, *L'Inscription Phénicienne*, 1880, pl. i.-vi. Furtwängler, *Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 56. Age of bowls, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 45.
- P. 116. ¹⁴⁷) Concerning ivories, *vid.* *Das Kuppel-Grab bei Menidi*, by Lolling. At Spata, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 261, and plates; and *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. xii. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 54. Salmann, *Nécropole de Camirus*.
- ¹⁴⁸) *Estratto dalle Notizie degli Scavi nel mese di Aprile 1882.* "Le Necropoli antichissimi di Corneto-Tarquini, nuova memoria di Gherardo Ghirardini," p. 74, about the Asiatic elements. Silver vase possibly imitated in Etruria, Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi di Chiusi*, iii. 20. Remarkable glazed terra-cotta wares, with reliefs, have recently been discovered on the Esquiline, and noticed in other parts of Italy, and must be the work of the Phœnicians: *vid.* Dressel, etc., *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 39; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, pp. 5-58, Tav. d'agg. A-G; and *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. Tav. xxxvii.
- P. 117. ¹⁴⁹) Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, p. 397; and *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. xxxix a.
- ¹⁵⁰) Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. S. 43 (Eng. ed.).
- P. 118. ^{150a}) *Vid.* the *Century Magazine*, Aug. 1882, p. 633, letter from Mr. Savage; as well as three communications to the *New-York Times* of March 12, 14, and 24, 1882, by the same scholar, who has had the best opportunity for studying this collection. *Vid.* also, *Monuments Antiques de Chypre, de Syrie, et d'Égypte*, by Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, Paris, 1883, consisting of articles written before 1879 to the *Revue Archéologique*, and to other journals.
- P. 120. ¹⁵¹) *Vid.* Note 146.
- ¹⁵²) Renan, *Rev. Arch.* 1879, p. 322.
- P. 121. ¹⁵³) "Statue colossale découverte à Amathonte par al Sorlin-Dorigny," *Gaz. Arch.* 1879, p. 230, pl. xxxi.
- ¹⁵⁴) Furtwängler, "Aus Delos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 333.
- P. 123. ¹⁵⁵) A. Duncan Savage, *Handbook No. 3 of*

- the *Metropolitan Museum*, "Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities."
- P. 123. ^{155a}) The subjection of Cypriote, like Phœnician, art, to every influence with which it came in contact, has long been recognized. Thus, the triumphant course of archaic Greek art, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., is most evident in the stone monuments of Cyprus, where, although conception and subjects remain Cypro-Phœnician, the artistic rendering imitates the Greek. In the sarcophagi, the Greek element is clearly battling with the Egyptian, and in the statues is gaining a control over the native element. *Conf. Ceccaldi, Rev. Arch.* 1875, p. 28; and Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 334, 335.
- ¹⁵⁶) Papayamakiss, *Gaz. Arch.* tome iii. p. 118; *Æschylos, Suppl.* 282. The great age of these Cypriote antiquities was propounded in *The Antiquities of Cyprus*, photographed by Stephen Thomson, introduction by Professor Sidney Colvin, London, 1873.
- ¹⁵⁷) M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 194.
- P. 124. ¹⁵⁸) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, S. 108.
- P. 125. ¹⁵⁹) E. Curtius, *Die Ionier und die Ionische Wanderungen*, S. 44.
- ¹⁶⁰) Duncker, *Gesch. des Alter.* ii. S. 473: *vid. Rev. A. H. Sayce, Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. p. 273.
- ¹⁶¹) George Smith, *History of Assyria*, p. 146.
- P. 126. ¹⁶²) *Vid. Perrot, Guillaume, et Delbet, Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, Paris, 1872.
- ¹⁶³) These are well illustrated by Ramsay in the *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* vol. iii., plates.
- ¹⁶⁴) *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 128, pl. iv., v.; "Notes sur des Bijoux d'Or trouvés en Lydie," par A. Dumont. *Conf.* most valuable notes by Professor Sayce, *Academy*, Aug. 25, 1883, p. 134.
- ¹⁶⁵) Percy Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, p. 4; and Barclay V. Head, in *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals: A Guide to the principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, with 70 plates, pl. i. 1, 2, 3, p. 4.
- ¹⁶⁶) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 248-293, "The Monuments of the Hittites;" pp. 294-308, "Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos."
- ¹⁶⁷) Rev. A. H. Sayce, op. c. pp. 250, 261; and *Academy*, Aug. 25, 1883, p. 135.
- ¹⁶⁸) Herodotos, i. 76.
- P. 128. ¹⁶⁹) Rev. A. H. Sayce, op. c. p. 248.
- ¹⁷⁰) Perrot, etc., *Exploration en Galatie*, etc., pl. 67.
- P. 129. ¹⁷¹) Herodotos, ii. 106.
- P. 130. ¹⁷²) Bryant's translation of *Il.* xxiv. 610; Paus., viii. 2. 5-7, and i. 21. 3. Ramsay, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 33, "Studies in Asia Minor," etc. E. Curtius und Hirschfeld, *Beurage zur Geschichte Kleinasien*, S. 83. B. Stark, *Nach der Griechischen Orient*, S. 250. This so-called Niobe is illustrated in the *London News*, Jan. 1880, from a drawing by Simpson.
- P. 131. ¹⁷³) *Proc. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* No. xx. Jan. 1881. The recent discovery of the cartouche of Rameses II. shows that the approximate date assigned to these monuments (the fourteenth century B.C.) by Professor Sayce is correct: *vid. Sayce, "The Niobe of Sipylos," Academy*, July 28, 1883, p. 68.
- ¹⁷⁴) Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* vii. pp. 264, 265, 268, 269, 306.
- ^{174a}) Sayce, op. c. p. 248, and Lushington, *Records of the Past*, ii. p. 65: "The War of Rameses II. with the Kheta."
- P. 132. ¹⁷⁵) Ramsay, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 33, and accompanying plates.
- P. 138. ¹⁷⁶) Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, Berlin, 1859; and *Zeitschrift für vergleichenden Sprachforschungen*, i. 455.
- P. 139. ¹⁷⁷) Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in Ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland*, S. 21.
- ¹⁷⁸) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., p. 73.
- ¹⁷⁹) Herodotos, ii. 52; and Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 144. Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 252, 253.
- P. 140. ¹⁸⁰) Abel in *Pauly's Encyclopädie*, v. 1579.
- ¹⁸¹) The passages in the ancients concerning the Dactyli and Telchines are collected in *Antik. Schriftz.*, by J. Overbeck, Leipzig, 1868, Nos. 27-56.
- ¹⁸²) Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 133.
- P. 141. ¹⁸³) Heinrich Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, Stuttgart, 1857, Bd. i. S. 14.
- ¹⁸⁴) *Iliad*, xviii. 590, 591.
- ¹⁸⁵) Paus., ii. 4. 5.
- P. 142. ¹⁸⁶) For all the tombstones, *vid. Schliemann's Mykene*, Nos. 24, 140-142, 146-150. For papers on the Mykene antiquities, *vid. Milchhöfer, Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 308-328. U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 1-13. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 246.
- ¹⁸⁷) *Vid.* Capt. Steffen's report to the Arch. Ges. Berlin, of his survey of Mykene; *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1882, No. 51; and Adler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 99.
- P. 143. ¹⁸⁸) Thiersch, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 179.
- P. 144. ¹⁸⁹) Stamakatis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 182.
- ¹⁹⁰) *Das Kuppel-Grab bei Menidi*, herausg. v. dem Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut in Athen, 1880.
- ¹⁹¹) Schliemann, *Orchomenos*, p. 30; and L. v. Sybel, *Kritik des Aegyptischen Ornaments*, Marburg, 1883, S. 21, and 39 Anm. 6.

- P. 144. ¹⁹²) Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. 261-276. Dumont, *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 182, pl. xvi.-xviii., and 'Αθήναιον, vi. pl. 1-6.
- ¹⁹³) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 143. Prof. v. Duhn kindly informs me by letter, that "similar graves have been discovered at Wolo (Iolkos, Thessaly), by Lolling, and on the island of Kephallonia, the latter important finds for the Ionian-island scenery of the Homeric poems."
- ¹⁹⁴) Strabo, viii. p. 369. Paus. ii. 16. 6, and ix. 36. 4-8. Plutarch, in his essay *On the Demon of Socrates* (v.), tells of the opening of what purported to be the grave of Alcmena, near the Haliartos, and of the finding of great treasure.
- ¹⁹⁵) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 275, and iii. S. 12. Newton, *Essays on Art and Arch.* p. 246.
- ¹⁹⁶) Benndorf, "Sepulchral-Masken und Gesichtshelme," published among the *Abh. der Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*
- P. 145. ¹⁹⁷) Milchhofer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 88.
- ¹⁹⁸) Schliemann, *Mykene*, Taf. 327, 328.
- P. 146. ¹⁹⁹) The study of these vases (begun only about ten years since) has already made a literature of its own. *Vid.* Conze, "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Griech. Kunst," *Ber. d. Wiener Akad. der Wiss.* 1870, S. 505; 1873, S. 221. Hirschfeld, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872, S. 131, and plates of Monumenti. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, *Abh. der Berliner Akad.* 1879. For the publication of the Mykene style of vases, *vid.* Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Thongefässe*. A few from Thera (Santorin) are published by Dumont et Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, Paris, 1881, pl. ii., iii.; and from Rhodes, by Salzmänn, *Nécropole de Camirus*. Still others are published by B. Haussollier, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 228, iv. p. 127.
- ²⁰⁰) Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde*, etc., S. 7.
- ²⁰¹) Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge d. Kunst in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1883.
- ²⁰²) Milchhofer, op. c. S. 122. There is much to be hoped from Schliemann's proposed excavations on the island. May the great discoverer be as successful as at Mykene and Orchomenos!
- P. 147. ²⁰³) Milchhofer, op. c. S. 40. The most noticeable feature in this art is its whole tendency to a lively naturalism, which is opposed to the conventionalizing spirit of oriental art.
- P. 148. ²⁰⁴) Milchhofer, op. c. S. 55-64. *Conf.* Rossbach, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 169. Among the bronzes of the Cesnola collection of antiquities is a very curious and interesting vase-handle, consisting of a circular and two side pieces; the latter decorated with the very monsters carrying water, met with on the island gems. The monsters stand with all the conventional regularity and schematism of oriental art, facing each other; and each holds up a vase apparently of a shape such as must have once fitted into these very handles. The heads of the monsters are certainly those of lions, their wings of birds, and down the back runs the insect-like irregular ridge also seen in the gems. Around the circular top seem to be a row of bulls charging in rapid speed; but, opportunity not being furnished to study this rare monument more closely, nearer details cannot be given. To the pleasant realism and freshness of conception, in the majority of island gems, the ruling schematism of Oriental art is here contrasted. Concerning the later development of the centaur-form, *vid.* Sidney Colvin, "On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-Painting," *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* vol. i. p. 107.
- P. 148. ²⁰⁵) Milchhofer, op. c. S. 82, Fig. 53.
- ²⁰⁶) *Conf.* Note 176.
- ²⁰⁷) Salzmänn, *Nécropole de Camirus*, pl. 29. Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 40.
- P. 150. ²⁰⁸) *Revue Arch.* xxviii. 1874, pl. 12. 1.
- P. 152. ²⁰⁹) *Mémoires des Antiquités du Nord*, 1880, pl. 8. U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 241, Taf. 8; and Kumanudis, 'Αθήναιον, ix. p. 162, x. p. 309.
- P. 153. ²¹⁰) Buchholz, *Die Homerische Realien*, ii. S. 204. The lighter tints may be electrum.
- ²¹¹) The armor and costumes of these warriors are quite different from those represented as worn by genuine Egyptians or Oriental peoples, on the monuments of the Nile or of Assyria, but have some points of resemblance to the costumes of warriors doubtless from the islands and neighboring lands. Wiedemann (*Die älteste Beziehungen zwischen Aegypten und Griechenland*, 1883, p. 6) thinks these peoples are Libyans, and not Ionians, as has hitherto been supposed.
- ²¹²) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. Taf. viii. On the cover of this book is represented the sword with the lions running between mountains, and the spiral design from another sword.
- P. 154. ²¹³) *Conf.* Note 187. Capt. Steffen's wonderfully fine maps of Mykene and the neighborhood are in process of publication.
- ²¹⁴) Paus., ii. 16. 5.
- P. 156. ²¹⁵) For the recent results of study upon the origin of Homeric poetry, *vid.* Bonitz, *Ueber den Ursprung der Homerischen Gedichten*, 4. Auf. 1875. (Amer. ed. trans. by L. R. Packard.)
- ^{215a}) *Odyssey*, vii. 81, about Alkinoös' palace. Bryant's translation is used throughout, with incidental corrections.
- ²¹⁶) *Odyssey*, vii. 81.
- P. 157. ²¹⁷) *Iliad*, xviii. 468.
- ²¹⁸) Welcker, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Aus-*

- legung der Alten Kunst*, i. S. 553. Brunn, *Abh. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* i. Cl. xi. Bd. iii. Abth.: "Die Kunst bei Homer und ihr Verhältniss zu den Anfängen d. Griech. Kunstgeschichte." Eugen Petersen, *Kritische Bemerkungen zur ältesten Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst*: "Programm des Gymnasiums zu Plön von 1871." Brunn, "Ueber den Parallelismus in der Composition Altgriechischer Kunstwerke," *N. Rhein. Museum*, v. S. 340. A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, p. 44.
- P. 157. ²¹⁹⁾ *Iliad*, xx. 268, 274. *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. i. pl. 18-20. One from Praeneste, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. Tav. 26; and from Corneto, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 10.
- P. 159. ²²⁰⁾ *Iliad*, xviii. 468. On a small vase in the British Museum, the scene of the lion falling upon a steer seems actually represented in a type such as may have floated before the mind of the Homeric poet: *conf.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 159.
- ²²¹⁾ Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 139.
- ²²²⁾ Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 157. Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 44, shows that the subjects of this shield correspond with the subjects of red-clay vases in relief (red ware) found in Italy and the islands of the Ægean. *Vid.* also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 156, Taf. 10, where the striking resemblance between centaur combats on a very small vase purchased in Corinth, and the style of the Mykene swords, is drawn out.
- P. 160. ²²³⁾ *Iliad*, vi. 295-302.
- ²²⁴⁾ Herodotos, ii. 53.
- P. 162. ²²⁵⁾ Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 202.
- ²²⁶⁾ *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 195, and 1881, S. 234.
- P. 163. ²²⁷⁾ Von Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 119. Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, S. 223. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, etc., S. 211.
- ²²⁸⁾ Percy Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, p. 2.
- ²²⁹⁾ Barclay V. Head, *Coins of Lydia and Persia*, p. 11.
- ²³⁰⁾ U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 5, about iron for coins, and early coinage of the Peloponnesos.
- P. 164. ²³¹⁾ Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 155.
- P. 165. ²³²⁾ Kekulé, *Ueber die Entstehung der Götterideale*. Coins afford the fullest means for the study of the development of these ideals: so for Aphrodite, *vid.* Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix*, pl. iv. 127-137; and for Apollo, Percy Gardner, *Sicilian Studies*, pl. iii. 19-26.
- ²³³⁾ E. Curtius, "Die Altäre zu Olympia," *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1882, S. 37.
- ²³⁴⁾ Carl Bötticher, *Baumcultus*, S. 57, 99, 212.
- P. 166. ²³⁵⁾ Plin., *N. H.* viii. 21.
- ²³⁶⁾ Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde aus Olympia*, S. 29.
- P. 166. ²³⁷⁾ Furtwängler, *op. c.* S. 30.
- P. 167. ²³⁸⁾ *Hom. Hymn*, i. 146 (to Delian Apollo).
- ²³⁹⁾ Theopompos in Athenæus, vi. 30.
- ²⁴⁰⁾ Furtwängler, *op. c.* S. 13.
- ²⁴¹⁾ Furtwängler, *op. c.* S. 60.
- ²⁴²⁾ E. Curtius, "Archaischer Bronze-relief aus Olympia," *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1879, S. 12.
- P. 168. ²⁴³⁾ Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 47; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 181.
- ²⁴⁴⁾ *Conf.* Note 242.
- P. 169. ²⁴⁵⁾ Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 86.
- ²⁴⁶⁾ Paus., v. 16. 2. "Koré de Mantinée," Le Bas et Foucart, *Ins. du Peloponnèse*, n. 352 T. v. p. 213. Concerning wardrobe of Artemis of Brauronia, *C. I. G.*, No. 155; and the dress at Delos, Th. Homolle, "Comptes des Hieropes du Temple d'Apollon Delien," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 105.
- P. 170. ²⁴⁷⁾ Furtwängler, "Schüssel aus Ægina," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 197, Taf. 9.
- ²⁴⁸⁾ Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71, Anm. 4.
- ²⁴⁹⁾ Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 265.
- ²⁵⁰⁾ Paus., v. 17. 2, 18, 19. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* ii. 45 (p. 325, Reiske); *conf.* Herodotos, v. 92. 4. This chest, which has given rise to endless conjecture, is treated by J. Overbeck, *Abh. d. Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Cl. Bd. iv. S. 591; Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch für Philologie*, 1865, S. 639. Brunn illustrates one scene in *Nuove Memorie d. Inst.* p. 383, Tav. iv. 4; and Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 113, makes many valuable remarks upon the chest.
- ^{250a)} The cover was probably decorated also: *vid.* Loeschcke, *Dorpat Programm*, 1880, S. 8. A most interesting comparison may be drawn between this casket and the painted terra-cotta sarcophagus recently discovered at Clazomenai, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iv. 1 and plates. The sarcophagus seems to be an imitation, in cheaper material, of costly utensils of wood, gold, and ivory, like the Kypselos chest, the masterpieces of the time, which have disappeared.
- P. 171. ²⁵¹⁾ The François-vase is published, *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. Tav. 54-58. Another old vase, similar in type and subject, is published, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 45. On the gold leaves, Prof. v. Duhn is preparing a paper.
- ²⁵²⁾ Herodotos, iv. 152.
- P. 172. ²⁵³⁾ Strabo, viii. p. 353. Paus., v. 2. 3.
- ²⁵⁴⁾ Plin., *N. H.*, xxxv. 151; *conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künste*, i. S. 23.
- ²⁵⁵⁾ "Ueber die Verwendung v. Terrakotten am Geison und Dache Griech. Bauwerke," v. Dörpfeld, Borrmann, Graeber, Siebold, S. 13. 41st

- Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Arch. Ges. zu Berlin*, 1881.
- P. 172. ²⁵⁶) Paus., x. 16. 1; *conf.* Furtwangler, *Die Bronzefunde*, etc., S. 65.
- P. 175. ²⁵⁷) The principles for this most important aid in determining the age and nationality of sculptures have been developed by Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets*, Berlin (3d ed.), 1877; and *Hermes*, v. S. 48, "Zur Geschichte des Attischen Epigramms." The shapes of the letters of the alphabet, he shows, varied so greatly with age and country, that, from their peculiar formation and use, may with great certainty be derived the time when, and people by whom, works of art were executed. This science, although so young, can already show a wide literature.
- ²⁵⁸) Paus., vi. 18. 7.
- P. 176. ²⁵⁹) Barclay V. Head, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv. p. 289.
- P. 178. ²⁶⁰) Paus., iii. 18. 9; 19. 1. Concerning old Ionian fancy and art, *vid.* v. Duhn, "Bemerkungen zur Wurzburger Phineusschale." *Heidelberger Festschrift zur 36. Versammlung der Deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner in Karlsruhe*, 1882.
- ²⁶¹) *Conf.* P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. 9, where a statue seems erected on a throne. Whether the rude helmeted object on a coin pictured in Barclay V. Head's *Guide to the Coins*, etc., pl. 43. 27, is a reflex of this Apollo, or of the Athena Chalkioikos by Gitiades, is uncertain.
- P. 179. ²⁶²) For a conjectural reconstruction of Bathycles' throne, *vid.* Brunn, *N. Rhein. Museum*, v. S. 325; and Ruhl, *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, No. 70.
- ²⁶³) Paus., iii. 18. 6.
- ²⁶⁴) C. T. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchida*, vol. i. p. 97.
- ²⁶⁵) Paus., i. 26. 5, and vii. 5. 9; *conf.* Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294.
- ²⁶⁶) C. T. Newton, op. c. vol. i. pl. 75, 76. Text, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 503, 781.
- P. 180. ²⁶⁷) These figures are admirably illustrated in *Milet et la Golfe Latmique, Tralles Magnesie du Méandre*, etc.; *Fouilles arch. faites aux Frais d. MM. les Barons G. et E. de Rothschild*, par Olivier Rayet et Albert Thomas, pl. 25, 26.
- ²⁶⁸) Rayet et Thomas, op. c. pl. 21.
- P. 181. ²⁶⁹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* ii. S. 384.
- ²⁷⁰) Herodotos, i. 92. Newton, *Essays on Art and Arch.*, "Disc. at Ephesos," p. 210.
- ²⁷¹) J. T. Woods, *Discoveries in Ephesos*, p. 259.
- ²⁷²) *Conf.* Note 255.
- P. 182. ²⁷³) *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. Classical Series i.: Report of the Investigations at Assos*, by Joseph Thacher Clarke, p. 91.
- P. 182. ²⁷⁴) Semper, *Der Stil*, i. S. 434.
- P. 185. ²⁷⁵) *Conf.* Savelsberg, *Lykische Sprachdenkmaler*.
- ²⁷⁶) W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 111.
- ²⁷⁷) Pub. *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, by E. Curtius, Adler, and Hirschfeld, Bd. v. Taf. 25b.
- ²⁷⁸) Benndorf, "Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei Oesterreichische Archaeologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien." *Arch.-Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Jahrgang vi. Heft ii. S. 32.
- P. 186. ²⁷⁹) E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1855, S. 1.
- ²⁸⁰) Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, S. 80.
- ²⁸¹) Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 188; and *Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang 39, S. 53.
- ²⁸²) *Conf.* H. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. K. Bayr. Akad.* 1870, ii. S. 205.
- P. 188. ²⁸³) Ross, *Inselreisen*, Bd. i. S. 41, 50.
- ²⁸⁴) *Conf.* Klein, "Studien zur Griechischen Kunstler Geschichte: Die Parisch-Attische Kunst." *Arch.-Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1-25, und "Die Daedaliden," S. 84-104.
- ²⁸⁵) Paus., v. 10. 3.
- P. 189. ²⁸⁶) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 99, pl. 1.
- ²⁸⁷) Furtwangler, "Aus Delos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 324.
- P. 190. ²⁸⁸) Paus., ix. 40. 3.
- ²⁸⁹) Jebb, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* ii. p. 61.
- ²⁹⁰) Furtwangler, op. c. S. 323.
- P. 191. ²⁹¹) Ross, *Inselreisen*, Bd. i. S. 39; and *Ann. d. Inst.* vol. 33, p. 80.
- ²⁹²) Ross, op. c. S. 33; and Tounefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, i. p. 290.
- ²⁹³) Furtwangler, op. c. S. 331; and Stuart, *Antiquities of Athens*, iii. p. 127.
- ²⁹⁴) Furtwangler, op. c. S. 329; and Milchhofer, *Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 93.
- ²⁹⁵) Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 84.
- ²⁹⁶) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (2d ed.), i. 217. To support the theory that this figure holds an oil-bottle, *vid.* A. v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, ix. 1882, S. 138.
- P. 192. ²⁹⁷) Weber, Address before the Architekten Verein, Berlin, *National Zeitung*, March 28, 1882.
- P. 193. ²⁹⁸) Körte, "Die Antiken Sculpturen Boeotian's," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 316. This same motive is found repeated, but in freer forms, on a monument now in Naples, the provenience of which is unknown. *Conf. Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, Tav. E.
- ²⁹⁹) Loeschcke, *Mitt. des Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 295. Von Sybel, *Sculpturen zu Athen*, i. Milchhofer, *Museen Athens*, 4, 10; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71, Taf. vi. 2. Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. 304. Illustrated in full, Müller-Schöll, *Mitt. aus Griechenland*, Taf. 4. *Conf.* Ross, *Inselreisen*, i. 81.

- P. 194. ³⁰⁰) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 108, 398, pl. 1-iii, and xiv., xv.
- P. 195. ³⁰¹) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 327.
- ³⁰²) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 328.
- ³⁰³) Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariorum Sculptorum-que Græcorum*, Berlin, 1871, p. 30.
- ³⁰⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 11; and *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves* 574 (ed. Dindorf).
- ³⁰⁵) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 272; and iii. p. 393.
- ^{305a}) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 324; *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 91. It seems possible that Acher- mos' winged figure may be a winged Artemis, and not a Nike as the ancients declared.
- P. 196. ³⁰⁶) *Die Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 27, A 2; and Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. iv. 20.
- P. 197. ³⁰⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 11-13. Paus., ix. 35. 6; iv. 30. 6. *Conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, Bd. i. S. 38.
- ³⁰⁸) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 350, Taf. 15. *Conf.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 194, and Note 227.
- P. 198. ³⁰⁹) "Le Heraion de Samos," par M. Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv. pp. 383-394; and "A Visit to Samos," by J. Theodore Bent, *Academy*, June 9, 1883.
- ³¹⁰) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 116.
- ³¹¹) For discussion of this question, *vid.* Thiersch, *Epochen*, S. 181. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 31, ii. S. 380. Ulrichs, *N. Rhein. Museum*, x. S. 1. Bursian, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* für *Philologie*, 1856, S. 509. Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, S. 29. *Conf.* Note 218. Overbeck, "Kunstgeschichtliche Miscellen," *Ber. des Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1868, S. 68. Ulrichs, *Abh. über die Anfänge d. Griech. Kunst.* Gesch. Würzburg, 1871 and 1872. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 160-184.
- ³¹²) Paus., viii. 14. 8.
- ³¹³) The processes described are those used at Barbedienne's in Paris, to whose politeness I owe the facts given in the text.
- ³¹⁴) O. Jahn, *Ber. über die Verhand. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* zu Leipzig, Bd. xix. Taf. v.
- P. 199. ³¹⁵) Paus., x. 38. 6.
- ³¹⁶) Diodoros Siculus, i. 98.
- ³¹⁷) Benndorf, *Zeitschrift für d. Oest. Gymnasien*, 1873, S. 401.
- ³¹⁸) Herodotos, i. 51. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 36.
- ³¹⁹) Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos*, p. 259.
- P. 200. ³²⁰) Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv. p. 483.
- ³²¹) C. Curtius, *Inscriptionen und Studien zur Gesch. v. Samos*, Lübeck, 1877.
- P. 201. ³²²) Paus., viii. 53. 8.
- ³²³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 10. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 43.
- P. 201. ³²⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 10. Paus., ii. 22. 5. 6.
- P. 202. ³²⁵) Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* v. S. 87.
- ³²⁶) Milchhofer, "Bronzi Arcaici di Kreta," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, pp. 213-222; and *Anfänge d. Kunst*, etc., S. 169.
- ³²⁷) Paus., vi. 19. 14; v. 17. 1. Milchhofer, op. c. S. 164.
- ³²⁸) Paus., iii. 17. 6; vi. 4. 4.
- P. 203. ³²⁹) Paus., ii. 32. 4; ix. 35. 3.
- ³³⁰) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 105. For coins with this Delian colossus of Apollo, *vid.* Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 30. *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 332.
- ³³¹) Paus., iii. 17. 2; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 114. Concerning Athena Chal. on coins, *conf.* Note 261.
- ³³²) Paus., vi. 10. 5.
- ³³³) *Die Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, iv. Taf. 25. 1-4. Furtwängler, *Die Bronze-funde*, etc., S. 93. Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 185.
- P. 204. ³³⁴) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 93.
- ³³⁵) Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek des König Ludwigs*, No. 41; *Monumenti dell' Inst.* iv. Tav. 44. Conze, *Heroen und Götter-gestalten*, Taf. 57. 1. Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 71; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 84. Frankel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 84. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 57. Heydemann, *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, xviii. (1883) 33. 1.
- ³³⁶) Brunn, op. c. No. 41.
- P. 205. ³³⁷) Milchhofer und Dressel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 311; vi. S. 358. Milchhofer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 294. Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 163.
- P. 206. ³³⁸) Milchhofer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 294.
- ³³⁹) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. Taf. xxii.
- ³⁴⁰) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. Taf. xxiv.
- P. 207. ³⁴¹) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 163.
- ³⁴²) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. Taf. vii. Compare with this subject the countless fragments of terra-cotta found at Tarentum, representing this subject: *vid.* a few published by P. Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 304.
- P. 208. ³⁴³) *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, Tav. d. agg. C. Loeschcke, *Dorpatser Program*, 1879. Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 186.
- ³⁴⁴) Brunn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 113, Taf. vi.
- ³⁴⁵) Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 17, Taf. 1. This warrior is published also in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1877, p. 355. Inscription on pl. 13. 2.
- P. 209. ³⁴⁶) I owe thanks to Dr. Furtwängler for having drawn my attention to these interesting and as yet unpublished monuments.
- ³⁴⁷) Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 20, and accom-

- panying plates. *Conf.* A. v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, ix. S. 141.
- P. 210. ³⁴⁸) Dorpfeld, Graeber, Borrmann, Siebold, "Ueber die Verwendung v. Terrakotten," etc., 41 *Winckelmann's Program Berlin*, S. 8. The people of Sikyon also built their own Treasury at Olympia, with Sikyon stone, prepared at home and taken in single ready blocks by sea to Olympia: *vid.* Dorpfeld, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* viii. S. 67-71.
- ³⁴⁹) *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, Bd. iv Taf. 16, 17; *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 40.
- ³⁵⁰) Paus., v. 17. 1.
- P. 211. ³⁵¹) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. iii. Taf. 22.
- ³⁵²) Paus., vi. 19. 13. Treu, *Philologische Wochen-schrift*, Aug. 5, 1882. Single fragments have been published in the *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, but the whole is to be seen only in the casts as arranged together in Berlin. These were so fragmentary that a photograph would have been of no service.
- P. 212. ³⁵³) Korte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 305; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. Milchhofer, *Die Museen Athen*, S. 4, 9; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 74. Compare Fig. 99 (Apollo of Tenea) with p. 193 of present work.
- ³⁵⁴) Korte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 309, and accompanying plate. Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 151. Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 58.
- P. 213. ³⁵⁵) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. iv. S. 55, 58.
- ³⁵⁶) *Conf.* Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294, 305; and Furtwangler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 22.
- ³⁵⁷) Lolling, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 254.
- ³⁵⁸) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 174; iv. S. 10, 170.
- P. 214. ³⁵⁹) Pausanias, i. 26. 5; and O. Jahn, *De Antiquissimis Minervae Simulacris Atticis*, p. 5, Bonn, 1866.
- ^{359a}) A large hole in the top of the helmet indicates that a tall, full plume of bronze was once attached.
- P. 215. ³⁶⁰) Furtwangler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 177, Taf. vi. This same type has very recently been discovered on the Acropolis, in another copy, *Academy*, March, 1883.
- ³⁶¹) Egyptian Collection, Berlin, Nos. 2515-2517, and 7433, 7505.
- ³⁶²) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 294.
- ³⁶³) Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 45.
- P. 217. ³⁶⁴) U. Kohler, "Ein Griechisches Gesetz über Todten Bestattung," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 139. This relief has been published by E. Curtius, *Abh. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1873, S. 156.
- ³⁶⁵) Illustrated in color, Laborde, *Le Parthenon*, pl. vii. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Die Antiken Bildwerke im Thesalon*, S. 362. Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 36, 293.
- P. 218. ³⁶⁶) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 36, Taf. 1, 11.
- ³⁶⁷) Loeschcke, op. c. S. 43, and *C. I. A.* iv. 373e.
- P. 219. ³⁶⁸) Loeschcke, op. c. S. 305.
- ³⁶⁹) Paus., vii. 4. 4; and v. 17. 1.
- ³⁷⁰) Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, iii. S. 12, Mün-tafel i.
- ³⁷¹) Published by Furtwangler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff, Kunstdenkmaler aus Griechenland*, Taf. iii., iv.
- ³⁷²) Barclay V. Head on importance of Chalkis, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv. p. 245. *Conf.* Milchhofer, *Anfänge*, S. 209. About bronzes not Etruscan, Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, S. 223-255; v. Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 119-157; and *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 152.
- ³⁷³) Furtwangler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 449, 450. These are illustrated in G. Micali, *Monumenti inediti a illustrazione della Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, Firenze, 1844, Tav. xvii. 3.
- ³⁷⁴) Paus., iii. 17. 6; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst* 1. 48.
- P. 220. ³⁷⁵) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. S. 231.
- ³⁷⁶) Benndorf, *Die Metopen v. Selinunt*, Berlin, 1873, Taf. 1. S. 43.
- P. 222. ³⁷⁷) Asios in Athen. xii. 30 (525). *Conf.* M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, v. S. 192.
- P. 225. ³⁷⁸) Paus., v. 21. Furtwangler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 30, 31. *Conf.* C. Petersen, *Das Gymnasium der Griechen*, 1858.
- P. 226. ³⁷⁹) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. Taf. 35, 36.
- ³⁸⁰) *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. Taf. 28, 39; and *Olympia und Umgegend*, v. Kaupert, Dorpfeld, Curtius, and Adler, Berlin, 1882, S. 21, 29.
- P. 227. ³⁸¹) Paus., v. 21. 2. Kaupert, Dorpfeld, etc., *Olympia und Umgegend*, S. 39.
- ³⁸²) This passage-way, proved to have been built in the latter half of the fourth century B. C., is arched over, being the oldest sample preserved to us of the use of the arch among the Greeks, and is consequently of the greatest importance in the history of architecture.
- ³⁸³) *Conf.* Note 378; and Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 107.
- P. 228. ³⁸⁴) Statues put up long after victories won, Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst* i. S. 69. The small size of many chariots is evident from the diminutive pedestal of Glaucon's chariot mentioned by Paus., vi. 16. 9. *Conf.* Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 89.
- ³⁸⁵) E. Curtius, "Ueber den religiösen Character der Griechischen Münzen," *Monats-Bericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss.* 1869, S. 464. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, London, 1880, p. 225.

- P. 228. ³⁸⁶) *Conf.* Kaupert, Curtius, *Olympia und Umgegend*, S. 36; and Blatt iii., map of the Temple of Hera.
- ³⁸⁷) Conze, Häuser, etc., *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. Taf. vi., vii.
- ³⁸⁸) C. Botticher, in his *Tektonik der Hellenen*, developed this idea of two kinds of temples. His theories are combated by E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Phidias*, 1873, S. 18; and by L. Julius, *Ueber die Agonal-Tempel der Griechen*, Munich, 1874.
- ³⁸⁹) W. Dörpfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Ber. 40; and *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 383.
- P. 229. ³⁹⁰) Dörpfeld, "Untersuchungen am Parthenon," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 395, with accompanying plates.
- ³⁹¹) Homolle, "Comptes des Hieropes du Temple d'Apollon Delien," *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 106.
- P. 230. ³⁹²) *Conf.* Note 255.
- P. 232. ³⁹³) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 343; *Ausg. v. Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 27, A 2. Barclay V. Head, *A Guide, etc.*, pl. 12. 6.
- ^{393a}) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 41.
- P. 233. ³⁹⁴) Illustrated by A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, pl. iv.
- P. 235. ³⁹⁵) Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii., pl. ii, iii., xiv., xv.
- ³⁹⁶) C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Second Vase-Room of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, part ii. (1878), p. 67.
- ³⁹⁷) E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 188, Taf. 8, No. 2; *vid.* also Brunn, *Ber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1883, S. 299.
- P. 236. ³⁹⁸) Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, pl. iv., v., publishes these beautifully. *Conf.* Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, No. 217; and Miller, *Revue Arch.* 1865, pl. 25, p. 438.
- P. 237. ³⁹⁹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* Bd. i. S. 28.
- P. 238. ⁴⁰⁰) Von Duhn, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 152.
- ⁴⁰¹) Paus., vi. 9. 4.
- ⁴⁰²) *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 186.
- ⁴⁰³) Paus., vi. 11. 2-5.
- ⁴⁰⁴) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 212.
- ⁴⁰⁵) Paus., vi. 11. 8.
- ⁴⁰⁶) Paus., v. 23. 1. Herodotos, ix. 81.
- ⁴⁰⁷) Paus., iii. 18. 7. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 85.
- ⁴⁰⁸) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7.
- ⁴⁰⁹) Paus., viii. 42. 5.
- P. 239. ⁴¹⁰) Paus., viii. 42. 5.
- ⁴¹¹) Paus., viii. 42. 5; v. 27. 8.
- ⁴¹²) Paus., v. 25. 13.
- ⁴¹³) *Iliad*, vii. 175; and Paus., v. 25. 10.
- ⁴¹⁴) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 44.
- ⁴¹⁵) Paus., x. 13. 5.
- P. 239. ⁴¹⁶) *Vid. Expédition de la Morée*, iii. pl. 58. Clarac, *Musée du Sculpture*, pl. 815-821. Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyptothek d. Kön. Ludwigs*, S. 66. Martin Wagner, *Bericht über die Aeginetischen Bildwerke*, 1817.
- P. 240. ⁴¹⁷) Prachow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873, pp. 140-162, with plates. K. Lange, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1878, ii. Cl. S. 1, and plates; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 120.
- P. 241. ⁴¹⁸) Becker, *Charikles*, iii. S. 94 (Eng. ed. p. 383). C. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuem*, S. 125.
- P. 242. ⁴¹⁹) L. Julius, *Fleckensien's Jahrbucher für Class. Philologie*, 1880, S. 1.
- P. 245. ⁴²⁰) Prachow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873, S. 150, 151.
- ⁴²¹) No. 56 in the Glyptothek. A bronze curl is still to be seen on No. 69.
- P. 246. ⁴²²) An ivory eye found among the ruins, and now in the Munich Antiquarium, is thought by Lange to have belonged to the temple statue of Athena, which, like so many of that age, may have been in gold, ivory, and wood. Judging from the size of this eye, he believes that the statue must have been seated in the old style.
- ⁴²³) E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, Bd. ii.; and K. Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 203.
- P. 247. ⁴²⁴) J. Overbeck, *Geschichte d. Griechischen Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 139.
- P. 248. ⁴²⁵) Engelmann, "Krieger aus Dodona," *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 1.
- ⁴²⁶) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad.* 1872, S. 529.
- ⁴²⁷) *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1866, S. 256. A fine cast of this monument is in the Berlin Museum.
- P. 249. ⁴²⁸) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 63; and *Die Kunst bei Homer*, S. 49. Krüger, *Hist.-phil. Studien*, S. 156.
- ⁴²⁹) Paus., vii. 23. 4, about child-god; and iv. 33. 3, about Zeus Ithomaïos. *Conf.* Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 141, pl. viii. 25 and xii. 47.
- ⁴³⁰) Paus., vii. 24. 4. *Schol.* Aristoph. *Rane*, 501 (ed. Dindorf).
- ⁴³¹) *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 15, 35 (Jacobs).
- P. 250. ⁴³²) Paus., vi. 10. 7 (Chariot of Cleosthenes); vi. 14. 11 (Anochos); vi. 8. 6 (Timasitheos).
- ⁴³³) Paus., x. 10. 3.
- ⁴³⁴) *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 47, 48, Taf. 47; 1878, S. 181; 1879, S. 44. The inscription translated reads as follows: "Atotos made it, the Argive, and Argeiadas son of Agelaiadas the Argive;" *vid.* Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 62.
- ⁴³⁵) Paus., x. 1. 4. Herodotos, viii. 27. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. 62.
- ⁴³⁶) Paus., v. 26. 2. Herodotos, vii. 170. Diodoros Siculus, xi. 48. 66.

- P. 250. ⁴³⁷) *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Inscripfen aus Olympia," No. 175.
- P. 251. ⁴³⁸) Paus., v. 27. 2, 3.
- ⁴³⁹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 74, 80. Ulrichs, *N. Rhein. Mus.* x. (1858), S. 8.
- ⁴⁴⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 75.
- ⁴⁴¹) Plin., op. c. 75. *Anthologia Græca*, ii. 15, 35 (ed. Jacobs). Paus., vii. 18. 10; ix. 10. 2; ii. 10 5.
- ⁴⁴²) Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 15, 16. Temple statues in the full are usually found represented on coins of the Roman age, although a few are met with earlier; the custom of representing great works of art on coins having commenced early. So Attic coins have the Tyrant-Slayers. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, p. 307.
- ⁴⁴³) *Conf.* Frankel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 90. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 22. O. Rayet, etc., *Milet et la Golfe Latmique*, pl. 28, well illustrates this bronze. It is also found in *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, published by the Soc. of Dilettanti, i. p. 12.
- P. 252. ⁴⁴⁴) Cicero, *Brut.* 18. 70.
- ⁴⁴⁵) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 81.
- ⁴⁴⁶) Paus., x. 13. 7.
- ⁴⁴⁷) One such marble relief is in Dresden, and was once, doubtless, the decoration of some sacred utensil. On it, the very restrained forms of the gods form a great contrast to the luxurious ornamental framing of the scene, and show that this sculpture is the work of a time which imitated the old style, doubtless holding to it because such traditional forms must have been sacred and well suited for temple furniture. It is a noteworthy fact, that the majority of such archaistic reliefs formed the decoration of altars and standards for sacred utensils. The Dresden relief is engraved in J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 200.
- ⁴⁴⁸) Paus., ii. 31. 6, and 10. 1.
- ⁴⁴⁹) L. Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 15, and plate.
- ⁴⁵⁰) Hestia Giustiniani is published by W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Fig. 68. For the Herculaneum figure, *conf.* Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben v. den Hercul. Entdeckung*, § ii. S. 143. A similar figure, of sterner form, has been found in Attica (Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*), but is possibly an imported work from the Peloponnesos. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868, S. 52, No. 15; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, S. 99, Taf. 10.
- P. 253. ⁴⁵¹) Paus., v. 16. 3.
- P. 254. ⁴⁵²) Paus., v. 27. 1.
- ⁴⁵³) Account of discovery, etc., *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, v. S. 121, Taf. 18, 19; *Funde v. Olympia*, Taf. xxii. Treu, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 48.
- E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 111. Furtwängler, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. li. S. 382.
- P. 255. ⁴⁵⁴) Ulrichs, *Verhandlungen d. 25. Versam. d. Philologen in Halle*, S. 70, "Bemerkungen über den Olympischen Tempel," Würzburg, 1877.
- ⁴⁵⁵) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 44, 151.
- ⁴⁵⁶) Paus., v. 10. 4.
- ⁴⁵⁷) K. Purgold, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 435; *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 180.
- ⁴⁵⁸) Loeschcke, "Pheidias' Tod und die Chronologie des Olym. Zeus," S. 43, in *Hist. Untersuch. Arnold Schüfer*, zum 25. Jahr. Jubiläum seiner Akad. Wirksamkeit gewidmet, Bonn, 1882.
- P. 256. ⁴⁵⁹) *Conf.* A. Bötticher, *Olympia, das Fest und seine Stätte*, Berlin, 1883, Taf. 47, 48; and *Aus. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.-v.
- ⁴⁶⁰) Paus., v. 10. 6-9. Treu, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, Dec. 30, 1881; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 319.
- P. 258. ⁴⁶¹) *Funde v. Olympia*, Taf. xxi.; and E. Curtius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 206; this metope is well illustrated.
- P. 260. ⁴⁶²) Brunn, "Die Sculpturen v. Olympia," *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1877, Phil.-philos. Cl. Bd. i. Heft 1.
- P. 261. ⁴⁶³) Paus., v. 10. 6.
- P. 262. ^{463a}) *Conf.* Note 463.
- ⁴⁶⁴) These sculptures without restoration may be seen illustrated in *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.-v.; *Funde v. Olympia*, vi., vii. *Conf.* E. Curtius, *Verhand. d. phil. Versammlung zu Carlsruhe*, 1882; and Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbüch.* li. S. 372.
- P. 263. ⁴⁶⁵) Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 215, Taf. 12.
- P. 264. ⁴⁶⁶) Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrb.* li. S. 373.
- P. 266. ⁴⁶⁷) The sculptures of the West Pediment appear unrestored in the *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i.-v.
- ⁴⁶⁸) Paus., v. 10. 6.
- P. 267. ⁴⁶⁹) *Vid.* Conze, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ser. v.-viii.; and A. Gerhard, *Antike Vasenbilder*, 4, 18, 24, 29, 46, etc. E. Curtius, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1883, S. 785. In our cut, the strong archaic face has altogether too sweet an expression, and has lost greatly thereby.
- P. 268. ⁴⁷⁰) About this figure of a boy, there is some doubt, the fragments being very scarce.
- P. 271. ⁴⁷¹) Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 59; *Ausgrab. v. Olympia*, Bd. i. Taf. 22.
- ⁴⁷²) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 234.
- ⁴⁷³) Paus., ix. 11. 6.
- P. 272. ⁴⁷⁴) *Conf.* Note 462.
- ⁴⁷⁵) Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, li. S. 378.
- ⁴⁷⁶) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* ii. S. 14. Prof. v. Duhn asks how the resemblances in style between the Elis coins of the fifth century B.C., and the Olympia sculptures, are to be explained.

- P. 273. ⁴⁷⁷) Paus., vii. 18. 10. This figure may possibly be reflected to us by a coin.
- ⁴⁷⁸) Paus., ix. 34. 3.
- ⁴⁷⁹) Paus., v. 24. 1.
- ⁴⁸⁰) Paus., ix. 25. 3.
- ⁴⁸¹) Körte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 313, and plate; and Girard, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 558.
- P. 274. ⁴⁸²) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1876, S. 328.
- ⁴⁸³) These are admirably represented together in Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. iii. The Eastern element appears in the Babylonian weight of the coinage.
- P. 275. ⁴⁸⁴) Heuzey, *Journal des Savants*, 1868, "L'Exaltation de la Fleur."
- P. 276. ⁴⁸⁵) W. P. Boissevan, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 77; *vid.* also viii. Taf. 2-4.
- P. 277. ⁴⁸⁶) *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 181, "Ins. von Olympia," No. 401; *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 127, "Ins. v. Olympia," No. 82.
- ⁴⁸⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.
- ⁴⁸⁸) Paus., vi. 4. 4.
- ⁴⁸⁹) *Vid.* Overbeck, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen*, etc., No. 499. P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. v. 7, p. 120.
- ⁴⁹⁰) Paus., vi. 18. 1. P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. ix. 35: on p. 167 is stated the age of this coin; for other agonistic coins, *vid.* p. 44.
- ⁴⁹¹) Tatian, *C. Græc.* 53, p. 116 (ed. Worth).
- ⁴⁹²) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59.
- ⁴⁹³) Tatian, *C. Græc.* 54, p. 118. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 37, T. ii. p. 106 (ed. Reiske).
- ⁴⁹⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59, No. 9.
- ⁴⁹⁵) *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 180, 294 (Jacobs).
- P. 278. ⁴⁹⁶) For the whole subject of this myth, *vid.* Luigi Adriano Milano, *Il mito di Filotette nella Letteratura classica e nel Arte figurata*, Firenze, 1879; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881, S. 249-281.
- ⁴⁹⁷) Astylos, Paus., vi. 13. 7; and Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59. Dromeus, Paus., vi. 7. 10. Leontiscos, Paus., vi. 4. 2. Mnaseas, Paus. vi. 4. 4. Cratisthenes, Paus., vi. 18. 1. Protolaos, Paus., vi. 6. 1.
- ⁴⁹⁸) Paus., vi. 6. 4. *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, "Ins. v. Olympia," No. 82. However pleasant it might be to connect so agreeable a statue as the so-called Apollo Gouffier (Fig. 272) with this statue of Euthymos by Pythagoras, as is done by C. Waldstein, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* i. pp. 168-201, and ii. 332, still it is impossible to do so with our present shadowy knowledge of the master's work.
- ⁴⁹⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 59.
- ⁵⁰⁰) Plin., l. c. says: "Hic primos nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius."
- P. 279. ⁵⁰¹) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1830, p. 228.
- ⁵⁰²) Metapontum fragments, *vid.* Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 202. Tarentum terra-cottas, Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 285. Locri terra-cottas, *Guide to the Second Vase-Room of the Brit. Mus.* p. 76, etc.
- ⁵⁰³) E. Curtius, "Die Canephore von Paestum," *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 27, Taf. 6. The inscription is: Τάθ' ἀνὰ Φύλλῳ Χαρμυλῖδα δεχάταν.
- P. 281. ⁵⁰⁴) F. Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, T. iii. ser. iii. Tav. ix. This figure has a short *chiton*, meander inlaid along the edge, and hair falling down the back.
- ⁵⁰⁵) Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 194. The Cointona lamp is well illustrated in Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, etc., Tav. 9, 10.
- P. 282. ⁵⁰⁶) Benndorf, *Die Metopen v. Selinunt*, Berlin, 1873, S. 50.
- P. 284. ⁵⁰⁷) Loeschcke, "Ueber Darstellungen der Athena Geburt," *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 113. Vases with realism are a curious feature of this day: see those painted by Hieron or by Duris.
- P. 285. ⁵⁰⁸) Paus., i. 8. 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70. Valer. Maxim., ii. 10.
- ⁵⁰⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 72. Paus., i. 23. 1. Plutarch, *De Garrul.* 8.
- P. 286. ^{509a}) Klein advances this theory.
- ⁵¹⁰) For literature on the Tyrant-Slayers, and illustrations, *vid.* Paus., i. 8. 5; *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, Taf. 127; *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 46; *Wiener Vorlesungsblätter*, ser. vii. 7. Head of Harmodios, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, Tav. G. *Conf. Arch. Zeit.* 1870, Taf. 24; *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 48; and E. Petersen, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* iii. S. 77. Dutschke, *Antike Bildwerke Oberitaliens*, ii. S. 77. Petersen, *Hermes*, xv. S. 475.
- P. 287. ⁵¹¹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 105.
- ⁵¹²) Brunn, op. c. S. 103, 104; and Lucian, *Rhet. Præc.* 9.
- ⁵¹³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.
- ⁵¹⁴) Plin., op. c. 78. Pliny's statement is here confused with the Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhos: *vid.* Bursian, *Allg. Encyc. v. Ersch. und Gruber*, i. 82, 418, 493; and Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. S. 72.
- ⁵¹⁵) Loeschcke, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 303, Taf. iii.; and Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 328.
- ⁵¹⁶) Paus., i. 15. 1. J. Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftg.* Nos. 470-474.
- P. 288. ⁵¹⁷) *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, S. 55, Taf. 22.
- ⁵¹⁸) Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 54. Kekulé, *Kunst Museum zu Bonn*, 35. Milchhöfer (*Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 180) shows that this figure belongs with another archaic fragment hitherto called Hermes, but also a chariotceer, as well as with other minor pieces representing a seated figure,—all, doubtless, parts of an extensive frieze which must once have adorned an ancient temple, perhaps the old Parthenon, which was destroyed by fire. In this frieze, with its

- chariots, seated figures, etc., we may, no doubt, find the archaic prototype upon which the masters of the Parthenon varied with such great success; and we can only hope that more of it may yet be discovered.
- P. 288. ⁵¹⁹) Von Lutzow, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, Tav. d. agg. I-K. Milchhofer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 5, 13. Fr. v. Duhn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 144. In the cut, Fig. 137, the beautifully grand details of nature have not been reproduced as well as could have been wished.
- P. 289. ⁵²⁰) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 39, and plates.
- ⁵²¹) Paus., ix. 16. 1.
- ⁵²²) Strabo, vii. p. 319. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 39.
- P. 290. ⁵²³) Paus., i. 3. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 36.
- ⁵²⁴) Paus., vi. 12. 1.
- ⁵²⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 71.
- ⁵²⁶) Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1-25, and S. 84-104, and vii. S. 160-184. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Bayr. Akad.* 1880, S. 450.
- ⁵²⁷) Paus., ii. 10. 3, and ix. 20. 4.
- ⁵²⁸) Paus., ix. 22. 1.
- ^{528a}) His Tanagra Hermes was youthful and beardless, and this figure is elderly and bearded. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 144.
- ⁵²⁹) Paus., v. 25. 5.
- ⁵³⁰) Paus., v. 26. 6. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 97.
- ⁵³¹) Paus., i. 23. 2.
- ⁵³²) Paus., x. 16. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 71. Lucian, *Imagg.* 4. 6; and *Dial. meretr.* 3. 2.
- P. 291. ^{532a}) Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.
- ⁵³³) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7. Cic., *Brut.* 18. 70. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 130.
- ⁵³⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 32. Petronius, *Sat.* 88.
- ⁵³⁵) Paus., ii. 30. 2.
- ⁵³⁶) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 58.
- ⁵³⁷) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 43, § 93.
- ⁵³⁸) Paus., ix. 30. 1.
- ⁵³⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57, and Note 537. Strabo, xiv. p. 637.
- ⁵⁴⁰) Tatian, *Con. Græc.* 54, p. 117 (ed. Worth). Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. Paus., i. 23. 7; ix. 30. 1. Conf. Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 85.
- ⁵⁴¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. About Lateran Marsyas, *vid.* Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858, p. 374; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. Tav. 23. The Brit. Mus. bronze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, Tav. 8. Conf. G. Hirschfeld, "Athena und Marsyas," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program* for 1872. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 22-26. Von Sybel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 342. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1880, S. 216. A fine Marsyas head in Baracco Coll., *vid.* Matz und Duhn, *Antiken Bildwerke in Rom*, No. 451.
- P. 292. ⁵⁴²) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 145.
- P. 293. ⁵⁴³) Propertius, ii. 31. 7.
- ⁵⁴⁴) Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, S. 91.
- ⁵⁴⁵) Paus., iii. 21. 1. *Anall.* iii. p. 218 n. 313 a. The importance of the foot-race is better understood when we remember that in antiquity rapid messengers took the place of post or telegraph. Thus one runner brought the news of the Marathon victory, running from Athens to Sparta, 1,140 *stadia* (about 131 miles), in two days. The runner who, when the Persians had defiled the holy flame after the battle of Plataiai, was sent to Delphi to procure pure fire, outran even the Marathon messenger, making the distance to and from Delphi (1,000 *stadia*) in one day; but, like Ladas, as he arrived he sank dead.
- ⁵⁴⁶) Paus., vi. 8. 4.
- ⁵⁴⁷) Paus., vi. 8. 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57.
- ⁵⁴⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. Quint., *Inst. Orat.* ii. 13. 8.
- ^{548a}) Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18.
- ⁵⁴⁹) Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 417.
- P. 295. ⁵⁵⁰) 135 Second Græco-Roman Room.
- ⁵⁵¹) Brunn, "Tipo Statuario di Atleta," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 202-222; *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. Tav. 7; *Besch. d. Glyptothek*, S. 165. Conf. Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, Stuttgart, 1881, S. 8, who thinks the oil-dropping athlete to be of a later school than Myron's. Brunn, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881, S. 196, accepts this supposition, but adds, that this motive must be the work of a "durchaus geistesverwandter Schüler."
- P. 296. ⁵⁵²) Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 209. There is one *replica* of this Discobolos in Duncombe Park, England: *vid.* Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles of Great Britain*, p. 295. In this statue, the great length of the body in proportion to the legs is most marked. The British Museum has recently purchased a copy originally in the Coll. Campana: *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 185.
- ⁵⁵³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 58. Cicero, *Brut.* 18. 70. Petronius, *Sat.* 88. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 12. 10. 7. Ovid, *Ars Amator*, iii. 219. Statius, *Silv.* iv. 6. 25.
- P. 299. ⁵⁵⁴) Paus., v. 10. 1.
- P. 300. ⁵⁵⁵) Paus., x. 10. 1. E. Curtius, *Gelehrter Göttinger Anz.* 1861.
- ⁵⁵⁶) Lucian, *Imagg.* 4. 6. On the different extant Amazon types, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, S. 44. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 335. Klügmann, *N. Rhein. Museum*, 1866, S. 321. Conze, *Heroen und Göttergestalten*, S. 32. Klügmann, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, S. 272.
- ^{556a}) Conf. R. Kekulé in *Comm. T. Mommseni*.
- ⁵⁵⁷) Paus., vii. 27. 2.
- ⁵⁵⁸) Paus., ix. 4. 1. Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20.
- ⁵⁵⁹) Paus., i. 28. 2; ix. 4. 1. Demosth., *De Falsa Legat.* xix. p. 428, § 272.

- P. 301. ⁵⁶⁰) Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 87, shows that this statue was never called Promachos in antiquity.
- ⁵⁶¹) Zosimos, 5. 6. 2. It is probable that Zosimos' Promachos is the Polias of the Erechtheion, shaped as a Promachos.
- ⁵⁶²) *Conf.* Note 458.
- ⁵⁶³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.
- ⁵⁶⁴) Paus., v. 15. 1. E. Curtius, "Die Altäre zu Olympia," *Abh. d. Kon. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1882, S. 6.
- P. 302. ⁵⁶⁵) A practical trial of this technique was made in 1857, by M. Quatremère de Quincy: *vid.* his *Le Jupiter Olympien*.
- ⁵⁶⁶) Dörpfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Ber. 46.
- ⁵⁶⁷) Murray, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 274. The front was a strong blue.
- ⁵⁶⁸) Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 25.
- ⁵⁶⁹) Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22, 57.
- ⁵⁷⁰) Strabo, viii. p. 353.
- P. 303. ^{570a}) Percy Gardner, *Types*, etc., p. 186, pl. iii. 15, 16, 43.
- ⁵⁷¹) Loeschcke, *Phedias' Tod*, etc., S. 35. *Conf.* Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbuch* li. S. 381.
- P. 304. ⁵⁷²) *Ilud*, i. 528-530.
- ⁵⁷³) For different coins, *vid.* *Arch. Zeit.* xxxii. Taf. 9. J. Friedländer, *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, iii. S. 24. J. Overbeck, *Sitz. Ber. des Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil. philos.* Cl. 1866, S. 173. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vii. S. 110. Friedländer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 34. The Zeus on Philip of Macedon's coins, *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. vii. 29, and xxii. 18.
- P. 305. ⁵⁷⁴) J. Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunst Mythologie*, Taf. ii. 1, 2. E. Petersen, *Die Kunst bei Phedias*, S. 386.
- ⁵⁷⁵) Strabo, viii. p. 354.
- ⁵⁷⁶) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xii. (p. 401, Reiske).
- ⁵⁷⁷) *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 208. 48 (Jacobs).
- P. 306. ⁵⁷⁸) Lucian, *De Sacrif.* 11.
- ⁵⁷⁹) Quint., *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9.
- ⁵⁸⁰) Cic., *Orat.* 2. 8.
- ⁵⁸¹) Liv., xlv. 28. Plutarch, *Paul. Æmil.* 28.
- ⁵⁸²) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xii. 51 (p. 400, Reiske).
- P. 308. ⁵⁸³) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 89-109.
- ⁵⁸⁴) Paus., i. 24. 5-7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 54, xxxvi. 18. Maximus Tyrius, *Diss.* xiv. p. 200.
- ⁵⁸⁵) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 44.
- ⁵⁸⁶) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 180.
- ⁵⁸⁷) K. Lange, "Athena Parthenos," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 60, 61.
- P. 310. ⁵⁸⁸) For literature on this statuette, *vid.* K. Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 56-94, Taf. i., ii.; *Mitt. d. Athen.*, etc., v. S. 370; Hauvette-Besnault, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, pp. 54-63.
- C. T. Newton, *Academy*, Feb. 12, 1883, p. 124. Michaelis, *Neuen Reich.* 1881, S. 353.
- P. 311. ⁵⁸⁹) Lange, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 82. Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. lxi. 14, 15.
- P. 312. ⁵⁹⁰) Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31.
- P. 315. ⁵⁹¹) *Id.* Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs in Athenischen Sammlungen*, Taf. xii.
- ⁵⁹²) Paus., i. 28. 2. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 54. Hubner, *Nuove Memorie dell' Inst.* p. 34. Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.
- ⁵⁹³) Tzetz., *Chil.* viii. 353.
- P. 316. ⁵⁹⁴) Paus., vi. 25. 1.
- ⁵⁹⁵) Paus., i. 14. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 15.
- ⁵⁹⁶) Paus., i. 24. 8; ix. 10. 2.
- ⁵⁹⁷) Preller, *Arch. Zeit.* No. 40, S. 261, about the *Cleiduchos*. Paus., vi. 4, 5, for Athlete.
- ⁵⁹⁸) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*. No. 989 contains a full account of the history and vicissitudes of these statues.
- ⁵⁹⁹) About encasing, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, ii. S. 129. Plin., xxxv. 54. According to some of the Christian Fathers, he painted pictures, strangely enough, on the island of Arados, off the coast of Phœnicia, which were contemplated by the Apostle Peter: *vid.* Rathgeber, *Allgemeine Encycl.* iii. 3, S. 193.
- ⁶⁰⁰) *Conf.* L. Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, i. S. 140.
- P. 317. ^{600a}) Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31.
- ^{600b}) E. Curtius, "Phedias' Tod und Philochoros," *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 134. Loeschcke, *conf.* Note 458. Furtwängler, *Preuss. Jahrbuch* li. S. 381. The older literature is given by Sauppe, *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1867, No. 7; *vid.* E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, S. 22.
- P. 318. ⁶⁰¹) Compare Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 17, with Paus., i. 3. 5, where Pliny ascribes a statue to Agoracritos, and Pausanias the very same to Phedias.
- ⁶⁰²) Paus., ix. 34. 1. Strabo, ix. 411.
- ⁶⁰³) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 240. A part of the head of this statue is in the British Museum. *Id.* Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1882, p. 89; and P. Gardner, *Types*, etc., pl. x. 27.
- ⁶⁰⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 17.
- ⁶⁰⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 54.
- ⁶⁰⁶) Plin., l. c.; and Paus., vi. 26. 3.
- ⁶⁰⁷) Strabo, viii. 334.
- ⁶⁰⁸) Paus., v. 20. 1.
- P. 319. ⁶⁰⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.
- ⁶¹⁰) Paus., i. 40. 4.
- ⁶¹¹) Paus., x. 9. 8.
- ⁶¹²) Paus., ii. 27. 2.
- ^{612a}) This coin has recently been shown to be older than Phedias (Brunn, *Arch. Misc.* S. 4; Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* S. vii. 70), and hence

- cannot be dependent upon Pheidias' statue in any way.
- P. 320. ⁶¹³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 16. Paus., i. 19. 2. Lucian, *Imag.* 4.
- ⁶¹⁴) E. Pottier et S. Reinach, "Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Myrina," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pp. 557-580, pl. xviii.; *conf.* Note 1180.
- P. 321. ⁶¹⁵) *Conf.* Note 593.
- ⁶¹⁶) Paus., ii. 30. 2. E. Petersen, "Die drei-gestaltige Hekate," *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* Bd. v. S. 1.
- ⁶¹⁷) Cic., *De Natur. Deor.* i. 30. Valer. Maxim., viii. 11, ext. 3.
- ⁶¹⁸) Paus., i. 8. 5; i. 20. 3.
- ⁶¹⁹) Paus., ix. 11. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 72.
- P. 322. ⁶²⁰) Paus., x. 19. 3. Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, i. S. 151. Eurip., *Ion*. 184.
- ⁶²¹) Paus., v. 22. 2, 3. No fragments of this monument have been found.
- ⁶²²) Paus., i. 23. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.
- ⁶²³) Pliny, l. c.: "Lycius Myronis discipulus fuit, qui fecit dignum præceptore puerum sufflantem languidos ignis."
- P. 323. ⁶²⁴) Plin., *N. H.* l. c.
- ⁶²⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13. This is the reading hitherto accepted. Klein, however, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vii. 72, makes it very probable that no Styppax existed as artist, but that he was dedicator of Lykios' *puer sufflans languidos ignis*. Hence any statue by this Cypriote will no longer have to be sought for.
- ⁶²⁶) Michaelis, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 284.
- ⁶²⁷) *Conf.* Note 1200.
- ⁶²⁸) Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 168.
- ⁶²⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. Paus., i. 23. 3; and A. Michaelis, op. c. S. 284.
- P. 324. ^{629a}) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 74.
- ⁶³⁰) *Vid. Ancient Marbles of the British Museum*, vol. ii. p. 32. *Arch. Zeit.* 1860, S. 40; and 1868, Taf. 2. S. 2.
- ⁶³¹) Paus., i. 23. 8. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1128. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 194. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* 1880, S. 1.
- P. 325. ⁶³²) Paus., i. 40. 3, and 44. 4. *Conf.* Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. Alten Künst.* ii. No. 174b.
- ⁶³³) Paus., ix. 30. 1.
- ⁶³⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 82.
- ⁶³⁵) Plin., op. c. 32.
- ⁶³⁶) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 268.
- ⁶³⁷) Paus., i. 26. 6.
- ⁶³⁸) Paus., ix. 2. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 92.
- ⁶³⁹) J. Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftg.* Nos. 893-896. That he invented the borer, as is reported, cannot be true; since signs of the working of this tool are found on works as old as the Æginetan marbles, which were executed, no doubt, long before his time.
- P. 325. ⁶⁴⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. Lucian, *Philo pseud.* 18. 20.
- ⁶⁴¹) Benndorf, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 47. Other inscriptions mentioning Demetrios' name, and found on the Acropolis, are published by R. Schöne, *Hermes*, v. 309; Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, Taf. 60. 5; U. Kohler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 318, this latter showing by its style that Demetrios lived during the early half of the fourth century B.C.
- ^{641a}) Lucian, l. c.
- ⁶⁴²) Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9.
- ⁶⁴³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 88.
- ⁶⁴⁴) Paus., vi. 6. 1. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 88. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. S. 189. Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftg.* Nos. 922-928; and scattered through the *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.*, and *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.*
- P. 327. ⁶⁴⁵) For discussion of age of Parthenon, *vid.* Wilamowitz, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, i. S. 68. Matz und Schöne, *Göttinger Gelehrter Anzeiger*, 1871, S. 1936. Loeschcke, *Pheidias' Tod*, etc., S. 41, 46.
- P. 328. ⁶⁴⁶) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871, S. 12.
- ⁶⁴⁷) Michaelis, op. c. S. 46.
- P. 329. ⁶⁴⁸) Among the Greeks of Elgin's time, the belief prevailed, that the statues were mutilated living bodies, petrified by the enchantment of magicians who would continue to have power over them as long as the Turks ruled in Greece. The spirits within these marbles, called the *Arabim*, were often heard to moan and bewail their condition. During the transport to the sea-shore, the Greek carriers in charge of one of the cases refused to go farther, declaring that they heard the *Arabim* crying out for its fellow-spirits still detained in bondage on the Acropolis. Even on board ship, it would seem as though the *Arabim* were still busy: one ship sank, off of the island of Cerigo, with its precious cargo, which was only rescued after three years time. *Vid.* Hobhouse, *Journeys*, i. p. 348; and Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 79. For opinions upon marbles, *vid.* Payne Knight, in *Specimens of Ant. Sculpture*, i. 1809, p. xxxix.
- ⁶⁴⁹) How widely scattered, may appear from the fact that one little arm is in private possession near Heidelberg, where it is so jealously guarded that it will doubtless long remain separated from its mates safely sheltered in the British Museum. All friends of art may, moreover, well be thankful for this shelter; for, had the marbles been left on the Acropolis, little would have been preserved to us. The Greeks, although envious of the British lion, who jealously guards his treasures, are not able properly to care for the relics of ancient art still left in their land. But little more than ten years ago,

- a distinguished German architect, while pursuing his studies on the Acropolis, not infrequently saw the Athenian boys throwing stones, the heads and arms of the figures of the frieze still adorning the shattered walls of the Parthenon serving as targets.
- P. 329. ⁶⁵⁰) Carrey's and many other early drawings of the marbles are collected in Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Atlas. C. Waldstein reported to the Society of Hellenic Studies, April 19, 1883, the finding of a manuscript book, date 1678, in the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, at Cheltenham, containing two views of Athens, with the Parthenon still entire: *vid. Acad.* April 28, 1883. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 367, Taf. 16, publishes a hitherto unheeded original drawing of the Parthenon, by Cyriacus from Ancona.
- ⁶⁵¹) *Conf.* Loeschcke, *Phedias' Tod*, S. 46; and *C. I. A.* iv. 297a.
- P. 332. ⁶⁵²) Furtwangler, *Preuss. Jahrbuch.* li. S. 377.
- P. 334. ⁶⁵³) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 21. The *regulae* are below; above runs a Lesbian *kymation* of red and white leaves on a blue ground; above this a rich meander-border, the pattern of which is still clear; and then above all is a Doric blue-red *kymation*.
- ^{653a}) Originals and casts make up 122 meters of the frieze. The fragment formerly in Carlsruhe is now in London.
- ⁶⁵⁴) For literature and inscriptions concerning Panathenaic festival, *vid.* Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Anhang. ii. S. 318. Specimens of Panathenaic prize-vases still exist, and are most fully represented in the British Museum: *conf.* J. de Witte, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, S. 294, and *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 42-48h. It seems probable, that on the usual yearly festival Athena's old *peplos* was only repaired, but that every fifth year a new and brilliant one was brought to her.
- P. 335. ⁶⁵⁵) Flasch, *Zum Parthenon Frieze*, S. 83, Würzburg, 1877. A. S. Murray, *Revue Arch.* 1879, Sept., p. 139, pl. 21.
- ⁶⁵⁶) Friedrich's *Bausteine*, i. S. 167. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 44.
- ⁶⁵⁷) Flasch, op. c. S. 105. Milchhofer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 17, about Attic tombstone with priest and knife. The majority of archaeologists accept the *peplos* theory, in opposition to Flasch.
- P. 336. ⁶⁵⁸) *Conf.* Note 366.
- P. 337. ⁶⁵⁹) Flasch, op. c. S. 27.
- ^{659a}) Opinions differ as to these names: Prof. v. Duhn calls those which Flasch named Hermes and Apollo, the Dioscuri; Demeter the one with a torch, and Hermes the one holding his knee. *Iliad*, xviii. 414, and ii. 599.
- P. 338. ⁶⁶⁰) For the twenty-nine different opinions about these figures of the east frieze, see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 262, 263; and C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1880, Table C.
- P. 345. ⁶⁶¹) Xenophon, *De Re equest.* i. 11.
- ⁶⁶²) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the British Museum*, part viii. p. 103.
- P. 346. ⁶⁶³) In Michaelis' *Parthenon*, Taf. ix.-xiv., are illustrated in outline the slabs of the whole frieze, in the original order, as far as it has been possible to ascertain it by aid of Carrey's drawings. Casts of all parts which are not in England are put up with the marbles in the Elgin Room, and thus the beautiful frieze is becoming more complete to our eyes.
- ⁶⁶⁴) E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 136.
- P. 349. ⁶⁶⁵) Paus., i. 24. 5.
- P. 350. ^{665a}) *Homeric Hymn*, 28, v. 6-16, Shelley's translation.
- ⁶⁶⁶) *Conf.* R. Schneider, "Die Geburt der Athena." *Abhand. des Arch.-Epig. Seminars d. Universität in Wien*, 1880, who publishes the Madrid *puteus* in full, Taf. i. S. 32.
- P. 351. ⁶⁶⁷) C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1880, Table A.
- ⁶⁶⁸) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* vi. 12. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Taf. 6. 18. *Conf.* Goethe, *Werke*, i. 109. I. Caldesi, *Photographs of Ancient Marbles, Bronzes, and Terra-cottas in the Brit. Mus.* 1873, No. 15.
- P. 353. ⁶⁶⁹) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 3-50.
- P. 354. ⁶⁷⁰) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, S. 86.
- ⁶⁷¹) *Conf.* Note 669.
- P. 357. ⁶⁷²) J. Overbeck, *Ber. der Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1879, Nov., S. 72.
- ⁶⁷³) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Petersburg*, 1872, pp. 5-142. Opposed by E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 115. Robert, *Hermes*, 1881, S. 81. E. R. Gardner, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 244.
- P. 359. ⁶⁷⁴) Matz, *Göttinger Gelehr. Anzeiger*, 1871, S. 1948. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 115. Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. S. 24. C. T. Newton, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 15.
- P. 361. ⁶⁷⁵) C. T. Newton, *History of Discoveries in Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. part i. p. 254.
- P. 363. ⁶⁷⁶) Oppermann, *Leben Rietschls*, S. 227.
- P. 365. ⁶⁷⁷) The discussion, concerning the identity of the existing temple with the one built by Kimon, is summed up in a dissertation by August Schutz, *De Theseo*, Breslau, 1874. By many it is still considered impossible to bring into accordance with Pausanias' statements the situation of the temple now called Theseion. The one he mentions must have been situated so as to face more towards the east.

- P. 365. ⁶⁷⁸) L. Julius, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 203.
- ⁶⁷⁹) The Theseion metopes are published, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Taf. 43, 44, 58, 59; and Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii. chap. i. pl. 11-14.
- P. 366. ⁶⁸⁰) The two friezes of this temple are published, Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii. pl. 4 and 18, 19, where, however, the order of the east frieze is incorrect: *conf.* J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. vol. i. fig. 77.
- ⁶⁸¹) K. O. Müller, *Kunst-Archaeologische Werke*, Bd. 4, "Die erhobenen Arbeiten am Fries des Pronaos von Theseus Temple, Athen," Berlin, 1873.
- P. 368. ⁶⁸²) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, ii. pl. i. S. 61.
- ⁶⁸³) *Conf.* Note 681.
- ⁶⁸⁴) Stephani, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843, pp. 286-327.
- P. 369. ⁶⁸⁵) Illustrated in R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs aus Athen. Samm.* Taf. i.-iv. S. 6: *conf.* v. Sybel, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 288.
- ⁶⁸⁶) *Corpus Ins. Gr.* N. 161. 'About the Erechtheion, L. Julius, *Ueber das Erechtheion*, Munchen, 1878; and Borrmann, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. S. 372.
- P. 371. ⁶⁸⁷) Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Arch.* i. p. 293.
- ⁶⁸⁸) Paus., v. 26. 6.
- ⁶⁸⁹) E. Curtius, "Die Cultus-Stätte der Athena Nike," *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 97. Benndorf, *Festschrift über das Cultusbild der Athena Nike*, Wien, 1879.
- ⁶⁹⁰) G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, 1682, p. 308.
- ⁶⁹¹) *A Description of the Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* ix. pl. 7-10. Ross, *Der Temple der Nike Apteros*, pl. xi. I-K and xii. O-G.
- P. 372. ⁶⁹²) Ross, *Der Temple der Athena Nike*, Berlin, 1839. Prestel, *Du Temple de l'Athena Nike*, Mainz, 1873.
- ⁶⁹³) R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Stuttgart, 1883. Robert, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, i. S. 173. Borrmann and Dörpfeld have taken up this interesting question again, but not yet made public the result of their studies.
- ⁶⁹⁴) This frieze is fully illustrated by Ross, *Der Temple der Nike Apteros*, Berlin, 1839.
- P. 373. ⁶⁹⁵) Herodotos, ix. 31.
- P. 375. ⁶⁹⁶) These are all published, together with an effort at restoration by Kekulé and Otto, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike*.
- P. 376. ⁶⁹⁷) *Vid. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, "The Seleucid Kings of Syria," pl. i, ii.
- P. 377. ⁶⁹⁸) Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek*, No. 136.
- P. 378. ⁶⁹⁹) Were the street too narrow, judging from a passage in Euripides' *Phoenicians*, then the image was simply painted on the wall.
- P. 378. ⁷⁰⁰) Paus., i. 21; and P. Girard, *L'Asklépeion d'Athènes*, 1882, Paris.
- ⁷⁰¹) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 424; and *conf.* Note 700.
- ⁷⁰²) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* i. 1877, pl. ix.
- P. 379. ⁷⁰³) *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 92.
- ⁷⁰⁴) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 214, 212. *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 169. Many Asklepios reliefs are published well in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. vii-ix.
- ⁷⁰⁵) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 217, Anm. 1.
- P. 380. ⁷⁰⁶) Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 206.
- P. 381. ⁷⁰⁷) Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 37, pl. x. On one relief of this class, in which appear Athena, Heracles, and a seated man, there is inscribed above the latter "Demos." A relief in which Athena's head is bowed is published, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. xii.
- P. 382. ⁷⁰⁸) Furtwangler, *Die Sammlung Sabouloff*, etc., Taf. vi.
- P. 383. ⁷⁰⁹) Milchhöfer, "Gemalte Grabstelen," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 173. This theory is combated by Furtwangler (*Coll. Sab.*), who thinks the vases would have been too fragile to put in the open air on the top of the tomb.
- ⁷¹⁰) Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 1108.
- P. 384. ⁷¹¹) Dionysios Halicarn., *De Isocrate*, 3, pp. 541, 542 (Reiske). Lucian, *Somm.* 8. Vitruv., iii. præfat. 2. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.
- P. 385. ⁷¹²) Pliny, op. c. 55.
- ⁷¹³) Cicero, *Brut.* 86, 296. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* v. 12, 21.
- ⁷¹⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 56. Lucian, *De Saltat.* 75.
- ⁷¹⁵) Plin., op. c. 56: "Proprium eius est uno crure et insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata, tamen esse ea tradit Varro et pæne ad exemplum."
- ⁷¹⁶) Friedrichs, "Der Doryphoros des Polyklet," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1863. E. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 130; and Friedrichs, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 149. Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 1. Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 153. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 219. Well illustrated, O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, iii. pl. 1.
- ⁷¹⁷) These are collected by Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, S. 5.
- P. 386. ⁷¹⁸) Furtwangler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 287.
- P. 388. ⁷¹⁹) Pan, *vid.* Chabouillet, *Cat. gén. des Camées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, p. 505, N. 3007; and Hermes, *Gazette Arch.* 1876, pl. 16. In the Metropolitan Museum at New York, among the bronzes from Cyprus, is a small statuette of this type, but of poor execution. The hair especially is interesting as resembling the treatment of hair in the Naples bronze copy of the Doryphoros head. The hands bear

- no attributes, but have holes, indicating that the spear may have been lost.
- P. 388. ^{729a}) Furtwangler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, etc., will publish this in bronze.
- ^{729b}) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.
- P. 389. ⁷²¹) Purgold, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 436, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 190. Paus., vi. 7. 10.
- ⁷²²) Plin., l. c.
- ⁷²³) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 3. 5.
- ⁷²⁴) Plin., l. c.
- ⁷²⁵) Plin., l. c.
- P. 390. ⁷²⁶) Plin., l. c. Cic., *De Orat.* ii. 16, 70.
- ⁷²⁷) Plin. op. c. 53.
- ⁷²⁸) Klugmann, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869, S. 272. *N. Rhein. Mus.* xxi. S. 321. Conze, *Heroen und Gottergestalten*, 32.
- ⁷²⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 56.
- P. 391. ⁷³⁰) Paus., ii. 17. 1-6. Thuk., iv. 133.
- ⁷³¹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 213.
- ⁷³²) Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. viii. 13, 15, p. 138.
- P. 392. ⁷³³) Brunn, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846, p. 126; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 297; *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 1. Kekulé, *Hebe*, 64.
- ⁷³⁴) Paus., ii. 27. 5.
- P. 393. ⁷³⁵) Strabo, viii. p. 372. O. Jahn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1850, ii. S. 129.
- ⁷³⁶) Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 3. 2; *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 273, 278.
- ⁷³⁷) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 219. Vitruvius, iii. 1, 2.
- ⁷³⁸) Quintilian, xii. 10. 7, 8.
- ⁷³⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 57.
- P. 394. ⁷⁴⁰) These are mentioned by name, Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 50. Paus., x. 9. 10; vi. 13. 7; v. 17. 3.
- ⁷⁴¹) Brunn, "Zur Künstler Gesch.," *Sitz. Ber. der Kon. Bayr. Akad.* 1880, S. 466.
- ⁷⁴²) Paus., ii. 17. 5, and 22. 7. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 80. Tatian, *C. Græc.* 51, p. 113.
- P. 395. ⁷⁴³) Paus., vi. 9. 3, and 6. 1. "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 129, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878.
- ⁷⁴⁴) Paus., vi. 1. 3, and 8. 4.
- ⁷⁴⁵) Paus., iii. 18. 8.
- ⁷⁴⁶) Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 10.
- ⁷⁴⁷) Paus., vi. 6. 2; 7. 10; 9. 2; 13. 6; and "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 128, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 83, and Nos. 286, 327; and S. 46 of *Arch. Zeit.* 1879.
- ⁷⁴⁸) Paus., viii. 31. 4. See coins of Megalopolis, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846, p. 53. Paus., ii. 20. 1; iii. 18. 8.
- ⁷⁴⁹) Paus., ii. 22. 7.
- ⁷⁵⁰) Paus., ii. 24. 6.
- ⁷⁵¹) Paus., vi. 2. 8; x. 9. 6.
- ⁷⁵²) *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olympia," Nos. 221, 222, and probably 287.
- ⁷⁵³) *C. I. G.* 2984.
- P. 395. ⁷⁵⁴) Stark, *Sitz. Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1860, S. 77.
- ⁷⁵⁵) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 286.
- P. 396. ⁷⁵⁶) Paus., ii. 17. 3.
- ⁷⁵⁷) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1854, p. xiii. Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. für Phil.* Bd. 77, S. 109.
- ⁷⁵⁸) Engraved, *The Century Magazine*, April, 1882, p. 833, New York.
- ⁷⁵⁹) Furtwangler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 289.
- ⁷⁶⁰) Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iv. S. 175, and plates.
- P. 397. ⁷⁶¹) Paus., x. 9. 6-8. Paus., vi. 6. 1; v. 26. 6; v. 25. 7; 6. 3; 3. 9.
- ⁷⁶²) Paus., viii. 41. 7.
- P. 398. ⁷⁶³) Cockerell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina, and Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ near Phigalia in Arcadia*, pl. 11, 12, London, 1860. *Exploration Scientifique de la Morée*, T. ii. pl. 28, 29. Stackelberg, *Der Apollon Temple von Bassæ*.
- ⁷⁶⁴) Ivanoff, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 29. K. Lange, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 60. Illustrations of all the slabs, Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. i.
- P. 401. ⁷⁶⁵) Paus., vi. 20. 14; i. 24. 3; v. 24. 5.
- ⁷⁶⁶) Paus., x. 9. 7. Plutarch, *Lysander*, i. Paus., iii. 17. 4, and 11. 3. 5.
- P. 402. ⁷⁶⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 68.
- ⁷⁶⁸) Paus., v. 26. 1. Discovery of the Nike, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 178. Inscription, *Ausgrabungen v. Olympia*, i. Taf. 22.
- P. 403. ⁷⁶⁹) Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, S. 59.
- ⁷⁷⁰) J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. Auf. Bd. i.
- ⁷⁷¹) Paus., iv. 36. 6.
- ⁷⁷²) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 361.
- P. 404. ⁷⁷³) To Prof. Curtius and Herr Grüttnert I owe great thanks for the generous privileges granted in having the Nike photographed. Concerning coins with wreath, *vid.* Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. ii. 19, iii. 14, viii. 3, iv. 30.
- ⁷⁷⁴) Coin with *tania*, Gardner, op. c. pl. iii. 42; with olive-bough, pl. i. 23; and with palm, viii. 4.
- ⁷⁷⁵) One bronze now in the Berlin Museum was discovered in Cæsarea, in Cappadokia. Terracottas are in the British Museum, and marble repetitions on Delos. Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 339.
- P. 405. ⁷⁷⁶) Th. Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. pl. x-xii.
- ⁷⁷⁷) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 335, and S. 345: *conf. Arch. Zeit.* 1872, Taf. 57.
- P. 406. ⁷⁷⁸) *Iliad*, xx. 223.
- P. 407. ⁷⁷⁹) Furtwangler, op. c. S. 338.
- ⁷⁸⁰) Furtwangler, op. c. S. 363.
- ^{780a}) *Conf.* Reginald Stuart Poole concerning the

- influence of the later Ionian painters on sculpture and coins, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1864.
- P. 408. ⁷⁸¹) Lykian monuments are treated of in the following: Sir Charles Fellows, *Lycia, Asia Minor*. Michaelis, "Il Monumento delle Ne-reidi," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, pp. 216-235; 1875, pp. 68-187. Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Heft ii.: "Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei Oesterreichische Archäologischen Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien."
- ⁷⁸²) Savelsberg, *Lykische Sprachdenkmäler*, part ii. p. 190; and Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 138, Note 221.
- ⁷⁸³) Michaelis, op. c. p. 166.
- ⁷⁸⁴) Sir Charles Fellows, *The Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 6.
- ⁷⁸⁵) Falkener, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. p. 272.
- P. 409. ⁷⁸⁶) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 360.
- ⁷⁸⁷) This Xanthos monument is illustrated, Michaelis, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 11-18; and *Ann. d. Inst.* Tav. d. agg. D-G.
- ⁷⁸⁸) Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, pp. 76-79. Gibson, *Mus. of Class. Antig.* i. p. 138. Fellows, *Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 8. It is a most interesting fact, that these same shield-cloths are found painted on the terra-cotta sarcophagus recently discovered in Clazomenai in Asia Minor: *vid. Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iv. 1, and plates.
- P. 410. ⁷⁸⁹) Fellows, *Lycia*, pp. 207, 112 and *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Taf. vii., viii.
- ⁷⁹⁰) Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 142.
- P. 411. ⁷⁹¹) Theopompus, *Fr.*, iii. Michaelis, op. c. p. 170.
- ⁷⁹²) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pp. 359, 360.
- ⁷⁹³) Such battle-scenes occur on the crest of Pajafa's tomb in the British Museum, and on a tomb still in Telmessos, the base of which is being washed away by the ocean. Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 112.
- P. 412. ^{793a}) Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 116, and frontispiece.
- ⁷⁹⁴) Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 359. Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 118.
- ⁷⁹⁵) Furtwängler, op. c. S. 347.
- ⁷⁹⁶) Falkener, *Mus. of Class. Antig.* i. p. 272.
- P. 413. ⁷⁹⁷) Euripides, *Andr.* 1267; *Iphig. Tauris*, 274.
- ⁷⁹⁸) Fellows, *Ionic Trophy-Monument*, p. 26.
- ⁷⁹⁹) Ulrichs, *Verhand. der 19 Versammlung d. Deutschen Philologen in Braunschweig*, 1860, S. 63. The exceedingly agile and lithe character of these statues makes it impossible, as was imagined by Gibson (*Mus. of Class. Ant.* i. p. 140) that they represent Ionian cities. In such case they would have had a firmer and more steady character. Besides, the attributes are not, as is known from coins, those which he imagined accompanied the different Ionian cities he named.
- P. 415. ⁸⁰⁰) Nagelsbach, *Nach homerische Theologie*, S. 407. Petersen, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860, p. 399. Pindar (ed. Bergk), *Oly.* 2, 28.
- ⁸⁰¹) J. A. Schonborn, *Mus. of Class. Antig.* i. p. 41. Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* vi. Heft ii.
- P. 416. ⁸⁰²) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Com. Imp. Arch.* 1861, p. 63. Benndorf, op. c. S. 50.
- P. 417. ⁸⁰³) *Odyssey*, Book xx. 248.
- P. 420. ⁸⁰⁴) Benndorf, op. c. p. 57.
- ⁸⁰⁵) Paus., ix. 4. 1.
- P. 421. ⁸⁰⁶) Benndorf, op. c. pl. vii., viii.
- P. 422. ⁸⁰⁷) Paus., i. 18. 1.
- ⁸⁰⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 60. Paus., vi. 19. 6.
- ⁸⁰⁹) Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. i. 13-36.
- ⁸¹⁰) Siefert, *Acrag.* S. 31.
- P. 428. ⁸¹¹) Thukydides, ii. 53; iii. 82, 83.
- ⁸¹²) U. Kohler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 268, "Attische Schatzurkunde aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhundert." Such witnesses so many centuries mute, but at last allowed to speak, dash to pieces, with the sure aim of truth, the cant of critics about this age.
- P. 429. ⁸¹³) Isaïos, *De Dicaog. Hered.* § 44.
- P. 431. ⁸¹⁴) E. Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. Auf. Berlin, 1874, Bd. iii. S. 489. For a comparison of Athenian and Scythian remains, showing the influence of Attica, *vid. Recueil d'Antiquités de la Scythie*, Atlas publié par la Commission Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersburg, 1866; liv. i. pl. iv., xii., compared with pl. xxxiv. and xxxv.
- P. 432. ⁸¹⁵) Leopold Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, i. Bd. S. 205-208.
- ⁸¹⁶) Plutarch, *Phocion*, 19.
- P. 433. ⁸¹⁷) Paus., i. 1. 3.
- ⁸¹⁸) Paus., viii. 30. 10.
- ⁸¹⁹) Paus., ix. 30. 1.
- ⁸²⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.
- ⁸²¹) Paus., ix. 16. 2; and i. 8. 3. Brunn, "Ueber die sogenannte Leucothea in der Glyptothek S. M. Kön. Ludwig I.," *Abh. der Kon. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1867.
- ⁸²²) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 363. Including one replica in Dresden, there are now three reproductions of this babe known.
- P. 434. ⁸²³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.
- P. 435. ⁸²⁴) Paus., viii. 30. 10; ix. 16. 2.
- ⁸²⁵) Paus., vii. 25. 9; vii. 26. 3.
- ⁸²⁶) Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 37. 40 (vol. ii. p. 122, Reiske; vol. ii. p. 304, Dind.).
- P. 436. ⁸²⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 50. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 336.
- ⁸²⁸) Ulrichs, *Skopas' Leben und Werke*, S. 48, Greifswald, 1863.

- P. 436. ⁸²⁹) W. Klein, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Ost. vi.*, "Studien zur Griech. Künstler Gesch.," i., "Die Parisch-Attische Schule," S. 1-25.
- ⁸³⁰) Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 454.
- P. 437. ⁸³¹) Athen. xiii. p. 591. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i.
- ⁸³²) The unsatisfactory prototype of Praxiteles' Hermes Group (Selections, pl. viii.) is owing to unpardonable negligence on the part of the Athenian photographer Romaidis.
- ⁸³³) Paus., v. 17. 3. The first publication of this great discovery was by G. Treu, *Hermes mit dem Dionysos-Knaben*, ein Original Arbeit des Praxiteles, Berlin, 1878. Many fragments were discovered later: *conf. Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang 38, S. 44, about finding the foot.
- P. 438. ⁸³⁴) These are collected by A. H. Smith, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.* iii. p. 81.
- ⁸³⁵) Fr. v. Duhn, *Karlsruher Zeitung, Lit. Beilage*, 1881, Mai 15.
- P. 440. ⁸³⁶) A peculiar light must have fallen on the Hermes face, to bring out a predominating element of sadness, and indeed of *Welt-schmerz*, when thoughts of such feelings were suggested for the paper by C. Waldstein, "Praxiteles and the Hermes with the Dionysos child, from the Heraion at Olympia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xii. part ii. p. 435.
- P. 442. ⁸³⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69, and xxxvi. 20.
- ⁸³⁸) R. Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxiteleschen Hermes*, pl. i.
- P. 443. ⁸³⁹) Brunn, *Der Hermes des Praxiteles*, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1882, Mai, S. 188.
- P. 444. ⁸⁴⁰) Paus., viii. 9. 1.
- ⁸⁴¹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 351.
- P. 446. ⁸⁴²) Paus., vi. 26. 1.
- P. 447. ⁸⁴³) Paus., i. 2. 4. Cicero, *In Verres*, iv. 60. 134.
- ⁸⁴⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.
- ⁸⁴⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.
- ⁸⁴⁶) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.
- ⁸⁴⁷) Paus., i. 23. 7.
- ⁸⁴⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.
- ⁸⁴⁹) Paus., i. 20. 1.
- P. 448. ⁸⁵⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.
- ⁸⁵¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 23. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 240.
- ⁸⁵²) Paus., i. 43. 5.
- ⁸⁵³) The Roman replicas are enumerated, Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, Nos. 419-423; and nearly every museum of any size, outside of Rome, owns one or more copies of this subject.
- P. 449. ⁸⁵⁴) Brunn, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1882, Mai, S. 188. This torso is so very fragmentary that only a sight and feeling of the marble itself, or of a cast, can give any adequate idea of its exquisite beauty and superiority. Hence no attempt was made at reproduction in the flat, where its excellence would be but feebly felt.
- P. 449. ⁸⁵⁵) Isocrates, *De Pace*, p. 183.
- ⁸⁵⁶) Paus., i. 40. 3; 44. 2; 43. 6.
- ⁸⁵⁷) Paus., ix. 27. 3.
- P. 450. ⁸⁵⁸) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 341.
- ⁸⁵⁹) The Eros of the Vatican is illustrated in Bouillon, *Musée des Antiq.* i. 152. *Conf.* Stark, *Sitz. Ber. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1866, S. 155. *Vid.* Furtwängler, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1877, S. 151, about a replica now in the new Capitoline Museum, restored as an Apollo.
- ⁸⁶⁰) Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*.
- ⁸⁶¹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 336.
- ⁸⁶²) Paus., ix. 39. 4; and Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 206. Paus., ix. 2. 7.
- ⁸⁶³) Paus., x. 37. 1.
- ⁸⁶⁴) Paus., x. 15. 1. Plutarch, *De Pyth. Or.* 15.
- ⁸⁶⁵) Paus., ii. 21. 10.
- ⁸⁶⁶) Plin., *N. H.* vii. 127, and xxxvi. 20.
- P. 451. ⁸⁶⁷) Lucian, *Amores*, 13, 14; *Imagg.* 6. 23.
- ⁸⁶⁸) J. Overbeck, *Die Antik. Schriftquellen*, No. 1236-1240.
- ⁸⁶⁹) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 340.
- ⁸⁷⁰) *Odyssey*, viii. 364. F. Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.* vol. ii. p. 10, points out a curious historical coincidence which may possibly, in part, explain the representation of this nude goddess for Cnidos in Asia Minor. Praxiteles' Aphrodite, he thinks, may have been executed in connection with the spread of the worship of Anaitis, the nude Babylonian goddess, in Asia Minor; there being a coincidence of date between the decree of Artaxerxes Mnemon, ordering the worship of this Anaitis, and the probable date of Praxiteles' Aphrodite. The treaty of Antalkidas had put Cnidos under Persian power, hence the influence of the decree would have been felt there.
- P. 452. ⁸⁷¹) *Conf.* Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, S. 206. Von Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, 41. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 145, Taf. 12.
- ⁸⁷²) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. 340.
- P. 453. ⁸⁷³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 22. *Anthol. Gr.* iii. 133. 94 (Jacobs). For coin, see Bursian, *Index Schol.* Jena, 1873.
- ⁸⁷⁴) Furtwängler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 38. Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Taf. 16.
- ⁸⁷⁵) Strabo, xiv. p. 641.
- ⁸⁷⁶) Vitruv., vii. præf. 13.
- ⁸⁷⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 28; *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 181, 298 (Jacobs).
- ⁸⁷⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70. Martial, xiv. 172.
- ⁸⁷⁹) Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 406. Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, i. S. 264.

- P. 453.⁸⁸⁰ Plin., xxxiv. 69.
- P. 454.⁸⁸¹ Callistratos, *Stat.* 3, and 8 (pp. 424, 431, Kayser).
- ⁸⁸² *Anall.* ii. p. 383, n. 4; iii. p. 218, n. 315. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69. Ulrichs, *Observat. d. Arte Praxit.* p. 14. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, S. 152.
- ⁸⁸³ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 70.
- ⁸⁸⁴ Callistratos, *Stat.* 11 (p. 434, Kayser). Paus., i. 2. 3.
- ⁸⁸⁵ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.
- ⁸⁸⁶ Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 133.
- P. 455.⁸⁸⁷ Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 319.
- ⁸⁸⁸ Paus., vi. 25. 1. Ulrichs, *Skopas' Leben und Werke*, S. 5.
- ⁸⁸⁹ Paus., viii. 45. 4. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 199. Ulrichs, *Skopas*, S. 18. Stark, *Philologus*, xxi. S. 419. Milchhofer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 52, 133.
- P. 456.⁸⁹⁰ Very inadequate illustrations of these marbles have as yet appeared (*vid.* Treu, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vi. Taf. xiv., xv.), and as yet no cast or photographs have been allowed.
- P. 457.⁸⁹¹ Paus., viii. 28. 1; ii. 22. 7; ii. 10. 1.
- ⁸⁹² Ulrichs, *Skopas*, S. 44.
- ⁸⁹³ Paus., ix. 10. 2; ix. 17. 1; i. 43. 6. Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 25. *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, v. Conze, Häuser, Niemann, and Benndorf, Bd. i., ii.
- ⁸⁹⁴ Clem. Alexandr., *Protrept.* 4, p. 42 (Potter). *Schol. Æschin. c. Tim.* 188, p. 747 (ed. Reiske). Paus., i. 28. 6. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. 320, 322.
- ⁸⁹⁵ Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 25. *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 165, 233 (Planud. iv. 192); *Anthol. Gr.* i. 74, 75 (81) (Jacobs). Callistrat., *Stat.* 2 (p. 422 Kayser).
- ⁸⁹⁶ Euripides, *Bacch.* 135-170, 240.
- P. 458.⁸⁹⁷ That small statuette (Perry, W. C., *Greek and Roman Sculp.* Figs. 161-162), the only representation, as was supposed, of Scopas' Mænad in the round, has been proved to be a modern fraud, being of biscuit-porcelain, a material never found among ancient remains, but a very favorite one with modern artists.
- ⁸⁹⁸ Propertius, ii. 31. 15.
- ⁸⁹⁹ For Augustus' Actium Apollo, *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide to the Select Coins*, etc., pl. 69. 35.
- ⁹⁰⁰ Menander Rhet., *Rhet. Græc.* iii. p. 445 (ed. Spengel). Strabo, xiii. p. 604. Concerning the discovery of the Smintheion, *vid. Antiquities of Ionia*, published by the Soc. of Dilettanti, part iv. p. 40.
- ⁹⁰¹ Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 22.
- P. 459.⁹⁰² Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 26. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 204.
- ^{902a} Brunn, *Beschreibung d. Glyp.* No. 115. Many archaeologists do not go as far as Brunn in tracing this frieze to Scopas: *vid.* P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 199. Certainly the exceedingly retouched condition of the surface makes it very difficult to judge conclusively of the original excellence of this graceful composition.
- P. 459.⁹⁰³ Strabo, xiv. p. 640. *Conf.* Th. Schreiber, *Der Apollo Pythoconos*.
- P. 460.⁹⁰⁴ Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 26.
- ⁹⁰⁵ Sig. Brizio, in the *Bulletino della Commissione Arch. Comunale di Roma*, advocated this latter theory.
- ⁹⁰⁶ Pseudo-Plato, *Epist.* 13 B, 61 A.
- ⁹⁰⁷ Plutarch, *Vita Decem Orat. (Isocrates)*, 27.
- ⁹⁰⁸ Paus., v. 20. 9.
- ⁹⁰⁹ Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 34, 77.
- ⁹¹⁰ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Plutarch, *Alex.* 40.
- P. 461.⁹¹¹ Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 389.
- ⁹¹² Brunn, op. c. S. 390.
- ⁹¹³ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.
- ⁹¹⁴ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79. Paus., i. 24. 4. For the coins, *vid.* O. Jahn, *Nuove Memorie d. Inst.* p. 22, Tav. i. n. 12. Paus., i. 1. 3.
- ⁹¹⁵ Paus., i. 3. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79. Pseudo-Plato, *Epist.* 13, p. 361.
- ⁹¹⁶ Vitruvius, ii. 8. 11. C. T. Newton, *Disc. at Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. part ii. pp. 270, 311. The owner of a part of the platform where the ruins of this temple were discovered told Prof. Newton that he had heard his father speak of a large edifice with columns, as standing on the site within the century. This was destroyed in order to export the marble for building-material to Rhodes. C. T. Newton, op. c. p. 317.
- ⁹¹⁷ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.
- ⁹¹⁸ O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, S. 18.
- P. 462.⁹¹⁹ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.
- ⁹²⁰ Paus., i. 40. 6.
- ⁹²¹ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 42; xxxvi. 22. Cedrenus, *Ann.* p. 536 (Bonn). Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 4, p. 41 (Potter).
- ⁹²² Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 4, 8, p. 42 (ed. Potter). Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 385.
- P. 463.⁹²³ Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 32. Propertius, ii. 31. 15.
- ⁹²⁴ Paus., ii. 32. 4. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 91.
- ⁹²⁵ Bernhard Stark, "König Mausolos und das Mausoleum von Halikarnassos," *Eos*, Bd. i. pp. 345-400, Würzburg, 1864; and *Vorträge*, Heidelberg, 1882. According to a treatise ascribed to Aristotle (Pseudo-Arist. *Æcon.* ii. p. 1348, 4-35, Bekker), which dates from soon after the great Aristotle, Mausolos collected wealth by such paltry means that they became notorious. Thus, on the long hair of his new Lykian subjects he levied a tax; he laid claim to all fruit hanging over the wall along the roadsides; besides using money set aside for building fortifications, giving as an excuse that

- the gods did not favor the fortification of the city. In some cases he took back gifts of his own bestowal.
- P. 463. ⁹²⁶) Vitruvius, ii. 8. 10-12. C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halicarnassus*, etc., vol. ii. p. 265. To this brilliant capital, besides the architects and sculptors necessary for its erection, were attracted also literary celebrities; Eudoxos the physician, lawgiver, and mathematician, from Cnidos, and Æschines the orator, from Athens, both having spent much time there.
- P. 464. ⁹²⁷) According to story, she was inconsolable at his loss, and drank of his ashes that she herself might be his tomb.
- ⁹²⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 30. 31. Vitruv., vii. *Præfat.* 12. To these four men, Vitruvius, but probably with little ground, adds the name of Praxiteles.
- ⁹²⁹) Gellius, x. 18. 5.
- P. 465. ⁹³⁰) Plin., l. c. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 24. 1.
- ⁹³¹) Stark, *Vorträge*, S. 201. How exquisite some of the wood-work left by the knights, *vid.* Newton, *Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. i. pl. 37.
- ⁹³²) Guichard, *Fouilles et Manières diverses d'ensevelir*, liv. iii. chap. v. p. 379, Lyons, 1581. The translation is from C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 75.
- P. 466. ⁹³³) Pullan, in C. T. Newton's *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. chaps. iii.-viii., London, 1862. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, i. p. 248, London, 1865. Cockerell, *Arch. Zeit.* 1847, Taf. 12. Ch. Petersen, *Mausoleum*, Hamburg, 1866.
- ⁹³⁴) Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halic.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 110.
- P. 467. ⁹³⁵) The lion is found in names occurring in inscriptions found at Mylasa: *vid.* Boeckh, *C. I.* n. 2693, 2736, 284. In Carian myth, *vid.* Herodotus, i. 84.
- ⁹³⁶) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, London, 1865, vol. ii. p. 136, pl. 17. Lions built into the walls of Budrun Castle, Newton, op. c. vol. i. p. 335.
- P. 468. ⁹³⁷) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 306, "Miscellen."
- ⁹³⁸) To the sixteen slabs of the Amazon frieze which are known to have come from the site of the Mausoleum, a relief found in a private palace in Genoa was long added, because of similarity in style and subject: its narrower mouldings and a wider sculptured surface, however, led Prof. Brunn to believe that it could never have been a part of the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum (*Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. Phil.-philos. Cl.* 1882, Bd. ii. S. 133). Prof. Newton, however, in placing the Mausoleum marbles in their new and spacious quarters, has had most careful observations made, and measurements taken, which show that the narrower mouldings are caused by modern restoration, which, in order to smooth down broken, jagged edges, and make the slab suitable for the decoration of an Italian palace, carved away the wide part of the moulding, and smoothed off the background.
- P. 469. ⁹³⁹) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 131.
- P. 470. ⁹⁴⁰) Brunn, op. c. These reliefs are published in the *Mon. d. Inst.* v. Taf. 18-21; and by Colnaghi, 13 Pall Mall, London, in photographs. Brunn's *first* series (Leochares) includes those slabs in the *Mon. d. Inst.*, marked iii., iv., vii.-xi.; but of these, iii., ix.; and x. have narrow mouldings, and iv., vii., viii., and xi., wide ones. His *second* series (Timotheos) includes i., ii., xii., xiii., all of which have narrow mouldings. The *third* series (Bryaxis) includes the three last slabs found by Prof. Newton, and one photograph (No. 26), all of which have narrow mouldings. The *fourth* series (Scopas) comprises v., and pl. 1 (or photo. 25) and pl. 5 of Newton's *Travels*; of these v. is narrow. The difference in the width of the mouldings amounts to fully one-fourth of an inch, which would be most apparent were the slabs placed alongside of each other.
- P. 471. ⁹⁴¹) It is owing to Prof. Newton's kindness and courtesy that I have been enabled to obtain the above facts.
- ⁹⁴²) Von Sacken, *Die Antiken Sculpturen d. K. K. Münz- und Antiken Cabinets Wien*, Taf. ii., iii.
- ⁹⁴³) *Vid.* C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. pl. 16, p. 132.
- P. 473. ⁹⁴⁴) C. T. Newton, op. c. plates 8, 9, pp. 111, 114. Artemisia, *vid.* pl. 10, p. 116.
- ⁹⁴⁵) Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 24. 1.
- P. 475. ⁹⁴⁶) For the Niobe-myth and its literature, *vid.* B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, S. 26.
- P. 476. ⁹⁴⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 28. Stark, op. c. S. 332.
- ⁹⁴⁸) Plin., op. c. and xii. 53; *Dio Cassius*, xlix. 22.
- ⁹⁴⁹) Milchhöfer, *42 Berliner, Winckelmann's Programm Die Befreiung des Prometheus*, S. 34. Urlichs, *Skopas*, S. 155.
- ⁹⁵⁰) Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke Nord-Italiens*, Bd. iii. S. 136.
- P. 477. ⁹⁵¹) The head, although antique, does not belong on the better of these replicas; and the right arm is altogether restored, according to Dütschke's examination of the marbles.
- ^{952a}) Brunn, *Beschreib. d. Glyp.* S. 169, No. 141. Von Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, No. 14.
- P. 478. ^{952b}) That beautiful fallen figure of the Munich Glyptothek, called usually Ilioneus, has sometimes been reckoned as one of Niobe's sons; but the utter lack of drapery about this cele-

- brated torso makes it improbable that such is the case, all the certain Niobe sons having drapery.
- P. 478. ⁹⁵³) A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1877, No. 273, p. 100; and Heydemann, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1877, S. 70, with accompanying plates.
- P. 479. ^{953a}) Heydemann, op. c.
- ⁹⁵⁴) In the great Niobe at Florence (according to Dutschke's examination) are restored nose, part of upper lip, lower lip, left fore-arm and drapery, right arm in parts, and places in the drapery. In the daughter in her protection are restored right arm, probably the whole of the left arm and shoulder-blade, left foot, and a part of the lower part of the left thigh, places in hair as well as nose and lips. This Niobe is engraved Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, Taf. x. The Brocklesby Park head, *vid. Specimens of Ant. Sculp.* sc. 37.
- P. 480. ⁹⁵⁵) One son (c. of our plate) has no leg and foot behind the knee upon which he has fallen, and consequently the statue seems intended to stand close up against a background. Many of the other statues present, moreover, agreeable lines, only when viewed from one single point.
- P. 481. ⁹⁵⁶) The peculiar and realistic garb of the barbarian pedagogue; the expression of so much grief; the site whence the original came, far-off Kilikia, which was first Hellenized under the Seleukidæ; and the doubt among the ancients as to the authorship of the group, — have roused the query whether the Niobe group in statuary may not have been a creation of the Hellenistic age. Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung des Prometheus*, S. 34. Further discoveries and comparisons will, no doubt, aid in solving this important and revolutionary problem.
- ⁹⁵⁷) Many are collected in Overbeck's *Antik. Schriftg.* Nos. 1383–1392; but many others are constantly coming to light, and will be found in Hirschfeld, *Tituli Sculptorum*, etc.
- ⁹⁵⁸) Plato's portrait mentioned, Diog. Laert., iii. 25; *vid. Braun, Ann. d. Inst.* 1839, p. 213. Silanion self-taught, Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51.
- ⁹⁵⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. Plutarch, *Thes.* 4. About Iocaste, *vid. Plutarch, De Aud. Poët.* 3. 30; and *Quæst. conviv.* v. 1. 2.
- P. 482. ⁹⁶⁰) Cic., *In Verres*, iv. 57, 12. 5. Tatian, *C. Gr.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth).
- ⁹⁶¹) A marble head in Florence, bearing an ancient inscription "Plato," was long thought to be the only genuine portrait of the great philosopher; but its plainness is hardly in keeping with the noble, manly beauty, reported to have been Plato's. A bended head in bronze, in Naples, and wearing a band about the forehead, although having most resemblance to the archaistic Dionysos heads, has also been called Plato. A small seated statue, said to be at present in England, and bearing on the chair the name "Plato," is thought by many not to represent the great philosopher, but the poet of comedy of the same name. Thus we are still left in the dark as to the features of the great Plato. *Vid. Braun, Ann. d. Inst.* 1839, S. 204; and *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. Tav. vii. Heydemann, *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung*, 1879, Artikel 419. Schuster, *Erhaltene Portraits der Griechischen Philosophen*, Leipzig, 1876.
- P. 482. ⁹⁶²) Paus., vi. 4. 5; vi. 14. 4, 11. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 82.
- ⁹⁶³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 81. O. Jahn, *Abhand. d. Kon. Sach. Ges. d. Wiss.* viii. S. 718.
- ^{963a}) Apollodoros was called "the insane," ὁ μανικός, while he was still with Socrates. Both Xenophon (*Apol.* 28) and Plato (*Symp.* 173 D, where the expression ὁ μανικός is used) speak of him as a man of excitable temper.
- ⁹⁶⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 128.
- ⁹⁶⁵) Lucian, *Imagg.* 7. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* xii. 10, 12.
- ⁹⁶⁶) Paus., i. 3. 4.
- ⁹⁶⁷) Dio Chrysost., *Orat.* 37, 43 (vol. ii. p. 124, Reiske; vol. ii. p. 305, Dind.).
- ⁹⁶⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77.
- P. 483. ⁹⁶⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77. *Conf.* Th. Schreiber, *Apollo Pythoëctonos*, Leipzig, 1879, S. 70, 80.
- ⁹⁷⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 77.
- ⁹⁷¹) Plin., l. c.
- ⁹⁷²) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 128.
- ⁹⁷³) Plin., l. c.
- ⁹⁷⁴) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Künst.* i. S. 314.
- P. 484. ⁹⁷⁵) L. Julius, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 269, Taf. 13.
- P. 485. ⁹⁷⁶) Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 63. Paus., i. 22. 1.
- ⁹⁷⁷) Wilamowitz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1882, No. 1376.
- P. 488. ⁹⁷⁸) For the inscription of this monument, *vid. C. I. No.* 221; *conf.* Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, S. 277. Illustration of frieze, *Description of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, published by the Trustees of the Brit. Mus. 1812–1861, vol. ix. pl. 23–30.
- P. 489. ⁹⁷⁹) U. Köhler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 104, 229.
- ⁹⁸⁰) *Vid. Antike Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, beschrieben v. Benndorf und Schöne, No. 237. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. 5, S. 455; *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. 27. Krüger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, S. 64.
- ⁹⁸¹) Fr. v. Duhn, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 220. Matz, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, S. 99. Lange, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883.

- P. 490. ⁹⁸²⁾ Furtwangler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, pp. 229, 249, 447.
- ^{982a)} The Austrian Akademie der Wissenschaften, under Conze's guidance, is preparing to publish all these Attic tombstones. The task, a herculean one, is well under way; and any information which may be communicated with regard to fragments in unknown private possession is most thankfully received by Director A. Conze of the Berlin Museum.
- P. 491. ⁹⁸³⁾ *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Privatalterthümer*, v. Karl F. Hermann, ii. ed., Heidelberg, 1870, S. 313-336.
- ⁹⁸⁴⁾ C. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuen*.
- ⁹⁸⁵⁾ Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilianische Vasenbilder*, Taf. i. S. 1.
- ⁹⁸⁶⁾ Benndorf, op. c. Taf. xxxiii.
- P. 492. ⁹⁸⁷⁾ Benndorf, op. c. Taf. xxv.
- ^{987a)} O. Rayet, *Monuments des Arts Antiques*, i., contains a representation in terra-cotta of the deceased being borne to the grave on a bier drawn by horses.
- ⁹⁸⁸⁾ A. Conze, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, p. 183.
- P. 493. ⁹⁸⁹⁾ "Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Myrina," par E. Pottier et S. Reinach, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 406. In these virgin tombs in Asia Minor have been found very many small veiled figures, winged and sad-appearing, which it is probable represent the *eidolon*. Others of a merrier type may represent Eros, the god of love. In one grave there were found, with sirens, thirty or forty of these little winged beings. A scene representing a repast at which one of these little winged figures is present was also found at Myrina. In some tombs have been found only wings, and nothing more, as though to help the soul in its flight. Concerning the subjects represented in the figurines, *vid.* Biardot, *Explication du Symbolisme des Terres-cuites Grecques de Destination funéraire, et les Terres-cuites dans leurs Rapports avec les Mystères de Bacchus*; Heuzey, *Monuments Grecs*, 1873, '74, '76; and *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Sept. 1875. Lüders, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874, Mai. Rayet, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, June, July, 1875; Aug. and Sept. 1874. Froehner, *Terres-cuites d'Asie Mineure*.
- ⁹⁹⁰⁾ E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. 19.
- P. 494. ⁹⁹¹⁾ *Conf.* Note 984.
- ⁹⁹²⁾ Milchhöfer, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* v. S. 173.
- P. 496. ⁹⁹³⁾ *The Century Magazine*, New York, vol. xxiii. p. 843. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 9.
- P. 501. ⁹⁹⁴⁾ Ravaisson, "Le Monument de Myrrhine, et les Bas-reliefs funéraires des Grecs," *Rev. Arch.* 1876, Paris.
- P. 504. ⁹⁹⁵⁾ Pervanoglu, *Das Familien-Mahl auf Altgriechischen Grabsteinen*. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 48. Ravaisson, *Gaz. Arch.* i. pp. 21, 41. Dumont, *Revue Arch.* 1869, p. 243. Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, i. 385-389. Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 303.
- P. 505. ⁹⁹⁶⁾ Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, S. 118.
- P. 506. ⁹⁹⁷⁾ *Vid.* Note 704.
- P. 507. ⁹⁹⁸⁾ Well executed by Dujardin, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. pl. 11, 12, for an article by Dumont, pp. 559-569.
- P. 508. ⁹⁹⁹⁾ Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. 283.
- ¹⁰⁰⁰⁾ Paus., v. 17. 4, and 21. 3. *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Insc. auf Olympia," No. 290.
- ¹⁰⁰¹⁾ Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 473.
- P. 509. ¹⁰⁰²⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 61.
- ¹⁰⁰³⁾ Plin., l. c.
- ¹⁰⁰⁴⁾ Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* ix. 18 (ed. Muller). Cicero, *Brut.* 86, 296.
- ¹⁰⁰⁵⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 65. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. p. 337.
- ¹⁰⁰⁶⁾ Plin. l. c.
- ¹⁰⁰⁷⁾ Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9. Propertius, iii. 9. 9.
- ¹⁰⁰⁸⁾ Paus., vi. 1. 4, 5. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51.
- ¹⁰⁰⁹⁾ Lysippos, "ἑρπον," *Annal.* iii. p. 45, n. 35. Athenaios, *Deipn.* xi. p. 784.
- ¹⁰¹⁰⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 37. Confronted with the long list of Lysippos' works, and with the accounts of the extensive patronage he enjoyed, the story told by a late writer, that Lysippos died in great want on account of the painstaking labor that he bestowed upon a single statue, sounds fabulous in the extreme.
- P. 510. ¹⁰¹¹⁾ Paus., ii. 9. 6; 20. 3; i. 43. 6.
- ¹⁰¹²⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 40. Strabo, vi. 278.
- ¹⁰¹³⁾ Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 9. K. Lange, *Ueber das Motiv des aufgestellten Fusses in der Antiken Kunst und dessen Statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos*, Leipzig, 1879. Poseidon with raised foot: *vid.* Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Bd. iii. S. 279, Nos. 1-4. On coins: *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide*, etc., pl. 45. 22, and 31. 16; the latter a coin of Demetrios Poliorketes, on which Poseidon holds in one hand a fish, and with the other rests on a trident with a beaded handle. A fine Poseidon head, *vid.* J. Overbeck, *Atlas zu Kunstmythologie*, Taf. xi. 11. 22. *Conf.* Kekulé, *Hebe*, 60.
- P. 511. ¹⁰¹⁴⁾ E. Curtius, "Darstellungen des Kairos," *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 1, and accompanying plates. Benndorf, *Arch. Zeit.* 1863, S. 81.
- ¹⁰¹⁵⁾ Overbeck, *Antik. Schriftg.* Nos. 1463-1467. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 361.
- P. 512. ¹⁰¹⁶⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 63.
- ¹⁰¹⁷⁾ Paus., ix. 30. 1. Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 12. Plin., op. c. 64. Paus., ix. 27. 3.
- ¹⁰¹⁸⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 40. Strabo, vi. p. 278.

- Plutarch, *Fab. Maxim.* 22. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. 362. Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, S. 134. St. Petersburg, 1854. Nicetas Choniatis, *De Signis Con.* 5 (p. 860, ed. Bonn).
- P. 513. ¹⁰¹⁰ Lippert, *Dact.* 285-287, ii. 231. Suppl. 334-336.
- ¹⁰²⁰ Paus., ii. 9. 7.
- ¹⁰²¹ *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 255. 4 (Jacobs).
- ¹⁰²² Martial, ix. 44. Statius, *Silv.* iv. 6. In the *Journal of Hell. Studies*, Mr. A. S. Murray publishes a small marble statuette found at Koyunjik on the Tigris, by a sculptor Diogenes. If this seated Heracles has any thing to do with the celebrated grand Epitrapezios, it certainly must have lost all the grandeur of the original. About Heracles by Lysippos, *vid.* further Michaelis, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860, p. 122. Bursian, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch.* lxxxvii. S. 101.
- ¹⁰²³ Strabo, x. p. 459. Bursian, *N. Rhein. Museum*, xvi. S. 438.
- ¹⁰²⁴ *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 16. 35 (Jacobs).
- P. 514. ¹⁰²⁵ *Ann. d. Inst.* xii. 1840, p. 94. Æsop head, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. Taf. 14; and Jahn, *Archæologische Beiträge*, S. 434.
- ¹⁰²⁶ Diog. Laert. ii. 43. Tatian, *C. Graec.* 52, p. 113.
- ¹⁰²⁷ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 63. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 363. Stark, "Zwei Alexanderköpfe der Sammlung Erbach und des Brit. Mus.," *Festschrift dem Kais. Deutschen Archæologischen Inst. zu Rom, zur 50 jähr. Stiftungsfeier*, 21 April, 1879.
- ¹⁰²⁸ Plutarch, *De Alex. M. Virtut. aut Fort.* ii. 2. The translation is Goldwin Smith's.
- P. 515. ¹⁰²⁹ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 16. 4.
- P. 516. ¹⁰³⁰ *Conf.* Note 1013, K. Lange, p. 54.
- ¹⁰³¹ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 274.
- ¹⁰³² Paus., vi. 1. 4; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olym.," No. 288. Paus., vi. 5. 1; 17. 3; 2. 1.
- ¹⁰³³ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 62.
- ¹⁰³⁴ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850, p. 223. *Monumenti*, v. Tav. 13. Kekulé, *Die Gruppe des Menelaos*, S. 34.
- P. 518. ¹⁰³⁵ Strabo, xiii. p. 590. Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 50. 14 (Jacobs).
- ¹⁰³⁶ Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 10.
- ¹⁰³⁷ Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 403. Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 153.
- ¹⁰³⁸ Perkins, *Du Moulage en Plâtre chez les Anciens*, and *American Art Review*, vol. i. p. 213. 1880, supports the usually received theory about the use of plaster. Story, *International Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1879, takes the opposite view.
- ¹⁰³⁹ Mr. A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1879, Dec. 30, writes: "This head of half life size was cast in three pieces, with clearly cut joints, which have been afterwards fitted together by a band of liquid plaster underneath. One of the joints is concealed by means of a wreath around the head, which has been afterwards modelled by the hand. Similarly the arms have been cast in two separate moulds, the one giving the upper, the other the under side of the arm. The joints are very carefully concealed. The hair is painted black, the lips and eyelids red, while the pupils are indicated, thus giving the whole a very realistic appearance. From the excellent modelling of the head and arms, they appear to belong to the third century B.C., and would represent the skill of the period in casting in plaster." That plaster casts were used in ancient Rome as they are at present, for purposes of cheap decoration, is also a well-known fact: Friedlander, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Bd. iii. S. 138, 569.
- P. 519. ¹⁰⁴⁰ *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 35.
- P. 520. ^{1040a} *Vid.* Milchhofer's remarks in his report upon the antiquities of the Peloponnesos, in the *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 311.
- P. 521. ¹⁰⁴¹ Paus., iv. 31. 6, 7, 10.
- ¹⁰⁴² Paus., viii. 31, 1, 5.
- ¹⁰⁴³ Paus., vii. 23. 5. *Conf.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 287-291.
- ¹⁰⁴⁴ Paus., iv. 31. 6, 7.
- ¹⁰⁴⁵ The use of gold and ivory for figures of the gods seems to have ceased in this century, the only probable exception having been Scopas' Apollo Smintheus. Leochares, however, used this material in representing the ruling house of Macedonia.
- P. 522. ¹⁰⁴⁶ Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 86.
- ¹⁰⁴⁷ Paus., vi. 1. 6.
- ¹⁰⁴⁸ *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, "Ins. aus Olympia," No. 301. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 152.
- ¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848, p. 48. The inscription is further discussed, Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 12; and Brunn, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 471.
- ¹⁰⁵⁰ Paus., x. 10. 4; x. 26. 7.
- ¹⁰⁵¹ G. Körte, "Die Antiken Sculpturen aus Bootien," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 301, and iv. S. 268.
- P. 523. ¹⁰⁵² Vischer, *Erinnerungen aus Griechenland*, S. 590. Reports about the finding of the tomb are given, *Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1880.
- ¹⁰⁵³ Paus., ix. 40. 10.
- ¹⁰⁵⁴ Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 255.
- ¹⁰⁵⁵ Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas v. Athen*, pl. iv.-viii.
- P. 524. ^{1055a} Many casts of these tombstones have recently been added to the Berlin Museum, and the relationship to Attica becomes most evident

- by the possibility of thus studying Attic tombstones alongside of these Boeotian monuments.
- P. 524. ^{1055b}) Prof. Newton made most astonishing discoveries at Halicarnassos, of figurines packed away in the subterranean part of a temple. C. T. Newton, *Hist. of Disc. at Halicarnassos*, etc., ii. part i. pp. 325-332; and *Ibid.* i. pl. xlv.
- P. 525. ¹⁰⁵⁶) Asia Minor discoveries, *vid. Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pp. 197, 388, Note 989. Kekulé, *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Stuttgart, 1878, with 17 plates. Wachsmuth, *Das Alte Griechenland im Neuen*, S. 119.
- P. 526. ¹⁰⁵⁷) Conf. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, 1882, etc. A colored marble statuette was found in Cyprus, and published in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*.
- P. 527. ¹⁰⁵⁸) The discovery at Myrina of a terra-cotta of the so-called Venus Genetrix (see Note 614), and also of one of the famous Venus Accroupie, seem to show that the influence of statuary was great upon this humbler art, since one, at least, of these figurines may be traced with certainty back to a type developed in the fifth century B. C. How much these humble figures, which became known to the Romans when Cæsar restored Corinth, influenced in turn the sculptors of that late day, we do not yet know, since a systematic study of all the figurines has not yet been made, although richest material for it is already at hand.
- P. 528. ¹⁰⁵⁹) P. O. Brönsted, *The Bronzes of Siris*, pub. by the Dilettanti Soc. 1836.
- P. 530. ¹⁰⁶⁰) *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* iii. S. 101; and Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* on Delos.
- ¹⁰⁶¹) J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i. Bd. S. 88; and Letronne, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829, p. 341.
- P. 531. ¹⁰⁶²) C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. pp. 171-177, describes the finding of this Demeter.
- P. 532. ¹⁰⁶³) Brunn, *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature*, series ii. vol. ii. p. 171.
- P. 533. ¹⁰⁶⁴) Newton, op. c. pl. 23.
- P. 534. ¹⁰⁶⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 95. "Columnæ . . . celsatæ una a Scopæ," is the old reading.
- P. 535. ¹⁰⁶⁶) J. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos*, London, 1877, p. 147; Restoration of Temple, opp. p. 264. *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 72.
- ¹⁰⁶⁷) Robert, "Thanatos," 39 *Program z. Winckelmannsfeste d. Arch. Ges. in Berlin*, 1879, S. 36.
- P. 536. ¹⁰⁶⁸) It is most characteristic of the development of the beautifully humane by the Greeks, that the ideal of Thanatos, or Death, who in the early poets was a fearful and rapacious being, in time came to be a kind and gentle one, careful of those intrusted to his charge, as may be seen on vases of the age of Praxiteles and of his fellows, where Death most tenderly handles the dead, and is aided by his younger brother, the beardless, winged Hypnos, or Sleep. Robert, op. c. pl. i. p. 36.
- P. 537. ¹⁰⁶⁹) C. T. Newton, in the *Portfolio*, July, 1874.
- ¹⁰⁷⁰) Fergusson, *Trans. of Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1877, p. 65.
- P. 542. ¹⁰⁷¹) For a vivid picture of the early part of this age, *vid. Joh. Gust. Droysen, Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. ed. Gotha, 1878, 6 vols.
- P. 543. ¹⁰⁷²) Droysen, op. c. Bd. iii. Anhang.
- ¹⁰⁷³) *Vid. Wolfgang Helbig, Untersuchungen über die Campanischen Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1878.
- P. 544. ^{1073a}) Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission Arch. Impériale de St. Petersburg*, 1869, p. 6, planches i.-iii.
- ¹⁰⁷⁴) Diodoros Siculus, xvii. 114. Plutarch, *Alex. Magn.* 72.
- P. 545. ¹⁰⁷⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 52.
- ¹⁰⁷⁶) Kohler, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 159.
- P. 546. ¹⁰⁷⁷) Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 125.
- ¹⁰⁷⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.
- ¹⁰⁷⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 51. Tatian, *C. Græc.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth).
- ¹⁰⁸⁰) Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, S. 173. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 391.
- ¹⁰⁸¹) *Bull. d. Inst.* 1862, p. 163.
- P. 547. ¹⁰⁸²) Plutarch (*pseudo*), *Vita Decem Orat. (Lycurg)*, 38. *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, S. 175. Paus., i. 8. 4; ix. 12. 4.
- ¹⁰⁸³) Tatian, *C. Gr.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth). Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.
- ¹⁰⁸⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.
- ¹⁰⁸⁵) Plin., l. c.; and Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 317. Replicas of the satyr and nymph are mentioned by Th. Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, No. 54; and illustrated by Clarac in his *Musée du Sculpture*, Nos. 667 and 1545 A.
- ¹⁰⁸⁶) Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 417. Vatican statue, *vid. Visconti, Iconographie Grecque*, pl. 29, i. 2.
- P. 548. ¹⁰⁸⁷) O. Jahn, *Hermes*, iii. S. 317-334.
- P. 549. ¹⁰⁸⁸) The newly discovered arm is probably of a second and exactly corresponding statue: *vid. Michaelis*, op. c. p. 243.
- ¹⁰⁸⁹) Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. 94. 2; and Clarac, op. c. No. 442, 807.
- ¹⁰⁹⁰) *Ancient Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* ix. pl. i. Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. ii. chap. iv. pl. 3. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, S. 185.
- P. 551. ¹⁰⁹¹) Conf. Note 1209; and Petersen, "Die drei gestaltige Hekate," *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Ost.* 1880, Bd. v. S. 8, about girdle.
- ¹⁰⁹²) Adler, "Die Stoa des Attalos II." (in Athens), *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 1875, S. 17, and 1882.

- P. 551. ¹⁰⁹³) Stuart and Revett, op. c. vol. i. chap. 3.
¹⁰⁹⁴) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 66, 51. 87. Paus., vi. 12. 5, vi. 16. 5.
¹⁰⁹⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.
¹⁰⁹⁶) K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, ii. Auf. bearbeitet v. B. Staik, Heidelberg, 1870, p. 115.
P. 552. ¹⁰⁹⁷) *Iliad*, i. 450, and *Iliad*, viii. 347. The history of this bronze statue is given by Friedländer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, 121.
P. 553. ¹⁰⁹⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 66.
¹⁰⁹⁹) Plin., op. c. 67.
¹¹⁰⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 83. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 441; *Jahrbuch der Königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. "Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon, Die Einzel-funde," von Conze, S. 82.
¹¹⁰¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 80.
P. 554. ¹¹⁰²) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34; xxxiv. 78; and Brunn, op. c. Bd. i. S. 412. Paus., vi. 2. 6.
¹¹⁰³) Joh. Malal., *Chronogr.* xi. p. 276 (ed. Bonn). Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 32. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 255.
¹¹⁰⁴) Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 125, 126.
¹¹⁰⁵) Hirschfeld, op. c. S. 107. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 540.
¹¹⁰⁶) Treu, *Ausgrabungen z. Olympia*, Bd. v. Taf. 21, 22, S. 14.
P. 555. ¹¹⁰⁷) Gurlitt, "Krieger Relief aus Kleitor," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* Bd. vi. S. 154, and plate.
P. 556. ¹¹⁰⁸) Milchhofer made the discovery about the inscription: *vid. Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 155.
¹¹⁰⁹) Polybios, xxii. 13, and xxxviii. 9. 13.
P. 557. ¹¹¹⁰) Conze, Hauser, Benndorf, Niemann, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. i., ii., 1880.
¹¹¹¹) Conze, etc., *Arch. Unter. auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. S. 107, 109.
¹¹¹²) Conze, etc., *Arch. Unter. auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. Taf. xxxv.-xlii.
¹¹¹³) Forster, *Der Raub und Rückkehr der Persephone*, 1874, S. 253.
P. 558. ¹¹¹⁴) Frohner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée du Louvre*, i. p. 434, No. 476.
P. 559. ¹¹¹⁵) A trial restoration by Zumbusch, made in small size, previous to the discovery of some of the fragments, and following in general the indications given by the coin, represents the goddess as holding the trumpet with one hand to her mouth to sound out notes of victory, while in the other, lowered, she carries a trophy-standard. But this restoration has something halting in the attitude of the laden left arm, which seems to lame the grand speed of the figure; and it is hoped that with the aid of the new fragments, and experimenting on a live model, a more satisfactory movement for it will be found.
- P. 560. ¹¹¹⁶) Cavadias, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879, p. 4.
P. 561. ¹¹¹⁷) Thus, the recently discovered magnificent fragment of a draped female figure in bronze from Kyzikos, and now in the Berlin Museum, is so like the drapery in the Pergamon frieze, only translated into bronze, that it seems the product of the same tendency, and, doubtless, school of art.
P. 562. ¹¹¹⁸) Kohlei, "Die Gründung der Königreich Pergamon," in the *Historischen Zeitschrift*, v. Sybel, 1882, Heft i. S. 1-15. For details of history, *conf. Urlichs, Pergamon, Geschichte und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1883.
P. 563. ¹¹¹⁹) Polybios, xxiii. 18. Marquardt, *Kyzikos*, S. 149.
¹¹²⁰) *Jahrbuch d. Kön. Preuss. Kunst-Sammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 84.
¹¹²¹) Mommsen, *Geschichte Roms*, Bd. i. S. 687 (American ed.)
¹¹²²) Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. S. 636. For prices paid for pictures, *vid. Brunn, Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst* Bd. ii.
P. 564. ¹¹²³) Paus., x. 19. 5.
¹¹²⁴) Diodoros Sicul. v. 28.
¹¹²⁵) Plin., *N. H.* xxxviii. 84.
¹¹²⁶) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 443.
¹¹²⁷) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 90.
P. 565. ¹¹²⁸) *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*. Vorläufiger Bericht von Conze, Humann, Bohn, Stiller, Lolling, Raschdorf, 1880, S. 80.
¹¹²⁹) Conze, *Jahrbuch. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 82.
P. 566. ¹¹³⁰) Conze, *Monatsbericht der K. Akad. d. Wiss.* zu Berlin, 1881, S. 871.
¹¹³¹) Bohn, "Der Tempel der Athena Polias," *Abhand. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1881; and *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunst-Sammlungen*, Bd. iii. S. 67.
¹¹³²) *Conf. Schreiber, Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, S. 12.
¹¹³³) Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, S. 80.
P. 568. ¹¹³⁴) Nibby, *Effemeridi Letterarie di Roma*, Aprile, 1821. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, p. 292, and *Bull. d. Inst.* 1871, p. 28.
P. 569. ¹¹³⁵) Belger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 163.
P. 570. ¹¹³⁶) Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus*, 42 *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, S. 29.
¹¹³⁷) Paus., i. 25. 2.
P. 571. ¹¹³⁸) Milchhofer, op. c. S. 26, Note 57.
¹¹³⁹) C. Botticher, *Bericht über Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1862: *vid. also Michaelis, Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* ii. S. 5.
¹¹⁴⁰) Brunn, "I doni di Attalo," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, pp. 293-323. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. Tav. 19-21. *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. Taf. 7. Klugmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, S. 35.
P. 572. ¹¹⁴¹) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 28.

- P. 573. ¹¹⁴²) *Vid.* Conze, *Monatsbericht d. Kon. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1881, S. 875.
- P. 574. ¹¹⁴³) *Conf.* Note 1130.
- ¹¹⁴⁴) Paus., v. 13. 8. Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, ch. 8. "Pergamo ara marmorea magna alta pedes quadraginta cum maximis figuris; continet autem Gigantomachiam."
- ¹¹⁴⁵) *Jahrbuch. des K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. iii. Berlin, 1882. Conze, "Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon," S. 83.
- P. 575. ¹¹⁴⁶) *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*. Vorläufiger Bericht von Conze, Humann, Bohn, Stiller, Lolling, Raschdorf, Berlin, 1880, S. 10-34.
- ¹¹⁴⁷) Bohn, *Die Ergebnisse*, etc., S. 37-46, Taf. ii.
- P. 576. ¹¹⁴⁸) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 344.
- ¹¹⁴⁹) Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, iii. ed. Bd. i. S. 57. *Conf.* Fr. Koepp, *De gigantomachia in poesis artisq.ue monumentis usu*. Doctor Dissertation, Bonn, 1883.
- P. 578. ¹¹⁵⁰) I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness for the latest information about the arrangement of the frieze, to Signore Freres, the Italian sculptor, whose quick eye and artistic sense has brought together more than two-thirds of the frieze preserved to us; and who, from most unsightly fragments, is constantly bringing to light new and certain combinations.
- ¹¹⁵¹) *Vid.* plate in *Ergebnisse*, etc.
- P. 579. ¹¹⁵²) By reason of the poor light upon the giants, it was impossible to obtain a good photograph of this group for the engraver; and in the crowded hall it was impracticable to keep up a scaffolding long enough for a draughtsman to do the subject justice.
- P. 582. ¹¹⁵³) Roscher, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1880, Beilage, S. 4571, has tried to bring this figure into connection with a recorded fact, that Eumenes' enemies once attacked his navy with vases full of snakes, which, when hurled, broke, letting loose their terrible contents.
- ¹¹⁵⁴) Belger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 85.
- P. 588. ¹¹⁵⁵) It caused no little amazement to Signore Freres and his assistants, while cleaning the small frieze, to find, that, even in parts left roughly blocked out, there were no signs whatever of the points (*puntelli*) so indispensable to modern workmen in marble.
- P. 589. ¹¹⁵⁶) Kekulé, *Zur Deutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoon*, Stuttgart, 1883, Taf. i., has these figures in most significant and speaking juxtaposition.
- P. 590. ¹¹⁵⁷) Milchhöfer, op. c. S. 19.
- ¹¹⁵⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34. *Conf.* A. S. Murray, *Academy*, July 28, 1883, p. 68, who calls attention to Pliny's misunderstanding of the import of Rhodian inscriptions.
- P. 591. ¹¹⁵⁹) Conze, *Jahrbuch. d. Kon. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. i. S. 180.
- P. 592. ¹¹⁶⁰) Engraved in *The Century Magazine*, Nov. 1882.
- ¹¹⁶¹) Milchhofer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus* cited above, Note 1136.
- P. 593. ¹¹⁶²) Furtwangler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 307.
- P. 594. ¹¹⁶³) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 34. It is an interesting fact, that the older name of Tialles was Seleukia: *vid.* *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 116.
- ¹¹⁶⁴) The main restorations are the whole upper part of Dirke, from the navel upward; the head, arms, and legs of Amphion, with the exception of his hands and feet; the legs of the bull with his hind hoofs; the head and both arms of Zethos, his whole right leg, and all of the left one with the exception of the foot; the whole of the dog, with the exception of his paws; parts of the arms of the mountain god; and a part of Amphion's lyre: *vid.* Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1876, S. 29, where all the restorations are given in full.
- P. 595. ¹¹⁶⁵) The representations of the myth of Dirke were collected by O. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, and added to by Dilthey, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 43.
- P. 596. ¹¹⁶⁶) Overbeck, "Ueber die Künstler Inschrift und das Datum der Aphrodite-statue von Melos," *Sitz. Ber. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1881, S. 92.
- ¹¹⁶⁷) *Vid.* Veit Valentin, in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1875, x. *Kunstchronik*, No. 17.
- ¹¹⁶⁸) *Vid.* De Longperier's letter printed in Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, Bd. i. S. 334.
- P. 597. ¹¹⁶⁹) Göler v. Ravensburg, *Die Venus v. Milo*, Heidelberg, 1879, S. 21; and Ravaissou, *La Venus de Milo*.
- P. 598. ¹¹⁷⁰) Reproduced in heliotype in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1880, S. 166, and engraved in the American Art Review, 1880.
- ¹¹⁷¹) Benndorf, *Arch. Epig. Mith. aus Oest.* 1880, Bd. iv. S. 66.
- P. 599. ¹¹⁷²) For conjectural restorations, *vid.* Wittig, in Von Lützow's *Zeitschrift für die bildenden Künste*, 1870, S. 353, 384. Tarral, in Göler v. Ravensburg, op. c. Taf. 4. Preuner, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, S. 109. Hasse, *Die Venus v. Milo*, Breslau, 1882, Taf. 1-4, from the anatomy of the chest and arms, concludes that the goddess must be arranging her hair. Quatremère de Quincy, *Sur le Statue antique de l'Énus découverte dans l'Île de Milo 1820*, groups the figure with Ares. Stillman, in *The Century Magazine*, 1881, believes the statue to represent a Nike writing on her shield.
- ¹¹⁷³) Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. S. 336-340.

- P. 600. ¹¹⁷³) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. Bd. S. 415. The ancient literature concerning Chares' colossus is collected in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1539-1555.
- ¹¹⁷⁴) Constantin. Porphy., *De Admin. imper.* 20. Lüders, *Der Koloss von Rhodos*.
- ¹¹⁷⁵) Newton, *Travels and Disc. in the Levant*, vol. i. p. 335.
- P. 601. ¹¹⁷⁶) Benndorf, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* i. S. 47.
- ¹¹⁷⁷) One of these is a Belgian work, Guillaume Caoursin, *De Obsidione Rhodiorum*, Ulm, fol. 1496, also published by Fluch, Strassburg, 1513. The other is *Septem orbis miraculae*, etc., in aeneas tabulas ab Antonio Tempesta Florentino relata, a Justo Rychio Gaudense versus celebrata: Romae anno CIO IOC iix.
- ¹¹⁷⁸) Ross, "Ueber die Inschriften von Rhodos," *N. Rhein. Museum*, Neue Folge, iv. S. 161; and Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 459.
- ¹¹⁷⁹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 140. Brunn, op. c. i. 464.
- ¹¹⁸⁰) The older literature on the Laocoön group is given in *Lessing's Laokoön*, herausgegeben und erläutert v. Blumner, ii. ed. Berlin, 1880, S. 722. The following is the main part of the later literature: Hirschfeld, *Zeitschrift für Ost. Gymnasien*, 1882, S. 172; and *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1882, S. 1015. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. S. 323. Mau, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 273, 326, Tav. d. agg. O. Blümner, *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, S. 17. *Vid.* Note 1185: Robert, "Bild und Lied," S. 4. 192. Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, S. 69. Mau, *Geschichte der Wandmalerei in Pompeii*, S. 425. Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 167. Wolff, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, S. 200. Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus*, 42 *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, S. 30, 38. Kekulé, *Zur Bedeutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoöns*, 1883. A. S. Murray, *Academy*, 1883, July 28, pp. 67, 68. Ifüßner, *Nord und Süd*, 1879, S. 360. No inscription was found with the statue, probably because Romans left the heavy pedestals behind: *vid.* Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariorum sculptorumque Graecorum*, Berlin, 1871, p. 9.
- ¹¹⁸¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 37. Nec deinde multo plurium fama est, quondam claritati, etc.: *vid.* Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 475. Kekulé, op. c. S. 10; and A. S. Murray, l. c.
- ¹¹⁸²) Brunn, op. c. Bd. i. S. 470.
- ¹¹⁸³) Kekulé, op. c. S. 24.
- P. 603. ¹¹⁸⁴) Blümner, *Lessing's Laokoön*, ii. ed. S. 704, sums up all the repetitions.
- ¹¹⁸⁵) The Greek poets, Arctinos, Bacchylides, Sophocles, and Euphorion, and the Roman writers Virgil (*Aeneid*, ii. 201) and Hyginus, treated the Laocoön myth: *vid.* critical discussion, Robert, "Bild und Lied," in Heft v. of Wilamowitz-Möllendorf und Kiessling's *Philologische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1881, S. 194; and also Kekulé, op. c. S. 29.
- P. 605. ¹¹⁸⁶) Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, S. 167; and *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881, S. 204.
- ¹¹⁸⁷) *About de consiliu sententia*, *vid.* Kekulé, op. c. S. 15, but most satisfactorily explained by A. S. Murray, *Academy*, July 28, 1883, pp. 67, 68.
- P. 606. ¹¹⁸⁸) Kekulé, op. c. S. 39.
- ¹¹⁸⁹) Paus., vi. 12. 2.
- ¹¹⁹⁰) Athenaios, v. p. 206 D (40).
- P. 607. ¹¹⁹¹) Theocrit. *Id.* xv. 110.
- ¹¹⁹²) Athenaios, v. p. 196 A (25). C. Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*, i. Bd. Exkurs. 6, S. 68.
- P. 608. ¹¹⁹³) Athenaios, v. 194 C (22).
- ¹¹⁹⁴) "Bericht über eine Reise in Kurdistan," von Dr. Otto Puchstein, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kon. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 11 Jan. 1883, S. 10.
- P. 609. ¹¹⁹⁵) Puchstein, op. c. S. 21.
- ^{1195a}) *Vid.* E. Curtius, "Die Griechische Kunst in Indien," *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 90, Taf. 11, and five wood engravings.
- ^{1195b}) Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave-Temples of India*, London, 1880; and Rajendralá Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Calcutta, vol. i. 1875, and vol. ii. 1880.
- P. 610. ¹¹⁹⁶) Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanischen Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1878, sets forth many hitherto unnoticed features of this age.
- P. 611. ¹¹⁹⁷) Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc., S. 68, in the *Virchow-Holzendorffsche Sammlung*, Heft 245, 246.
- P. 612. ¹¹⁹⁸) Brunn, "Zur Künstler Geschichte," *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1880, S. 485. Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 84. Concerning Boëthos' second statue, *vid.* Paus., v. 17. 4. O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1848, ii. S. 48.
- ¹¹⁹⁹) Furtwängler, op. c.
- ¹²⁰⁰) *Vid. Mon. d. Inst. x. Taf. 2.* Robert, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 126, Tav. d. agg. N, O. *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, Tav. 2, 3, is given the British-Museum figure. The Rothschild bronze appears, *Gaz. Arch.* 1882, pl. 9-11. *Conf.* also *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oest.* v. Taf. vi. Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc.; and "Der Satyr aus Pergamon," *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1881, S. 11. The discussion about the bronze boy of the Capitol has been very lively. Many archæologists have believed it to be the work of a late archaistic school; but, even if this be granted, we must with Furtwängler believe that the type from which a late master could abstract so archaic a figure was not the realistic one of the British Museum and Rothschild statues, but that he must have gone back to an older original, upon which the realistic statues are a variation in the spirit of a later time.
- P. 614. ¹²⁰¹) *Vid.* the investigations by Dütschke,

- Antike Bildwerke Nord Italiens*, Bd. i.-iii. No. 547.
- P. 614.¹²⁰²⁾ Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*.
¹²⁰³⁾ Furtwängler, *Berliner Winckelmann's Program*, 1881.
- P. 616.¹²⁰⁴⁾ Conze, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 331, Tav. d. agg. N. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, No. 309.
- P. 617.¹²⁰⁵⁾ Von Lützow, *Verhandlung der 21 Philologen Versammlung zu Augsburg*, 1871. Brunn, op. c. No. 95. It is well said by the latter, that were this a human being, and not one of a lower level, the representation of such a subject would be too repulsive altogether.
- ¹²⁰⁶⁾ Stark, *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1860, S. 79. *Vid.* also Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, S. 331; and Chanot, *Gaz. Arch.* 1878, p. 68. In the Villa Ludovisi is such a crouching Aphrodite, with the addition of a Cupid holding a towel. This type of the crouching Aphrodite has been discovered at Myrina in an admirably preserved terra-cotta: *vid.* *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. pl. xvii.
- ¹²⁰⁷⁾ Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, etc., S. 71, Anm. 87; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 96. Concerning the group called Menelaos and Patrocles, *vid.* Donner, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, p. 75; Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, No. 965; and Nachtrag, i., xvii. Lange, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 74.
- P. 618.¹²⁰⁸⁾ Tredelenburg, "Due Sarcophaghi con rappresentazioni delle Muse," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, Tav. d. agg. D, E; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, S. 85. *Vid.* also Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung Prometheus*, S. 21. For the Ludovisi Medusa, *vid.* Dilthey, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, p. 212; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 94.
- P. 620.¹²⁰⁹⁾ Prof. v. Duhn kindly informs me that the beautiful head illustrated in Fig. 253 is owned not by a Greek, but by a German, Count Fels of Corfu. The Munich head is discussed by Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyp.* No. 89. Friedrichs, *Berlin's Antike Bildwerke*, i. "Die Gypsabgüsse im Neuem Museum," 1868, No. 687. The Ceres statuette is in the Vatican: *vid.* Friedrichs, op. c. No. 686; and Kekulé, *Kunst-Museum zu Bonn*, No. 325. In studying coins, we find that this peculiar manner of dressing the hair is not at all usual before the third century B.C.: *vid.* Barclay V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, 1881, pl. 46, 25. From the coins of Arsinoë Philadelphus, we see that it was a favorite mode of dressing the hair in her day (281 B.C.). *Vid.* Reginald Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Lagida*, pl. viii.
- P. 621.^{1209a)} Two hands were originally seen with the fragmentary head, but only one arrived at the British Museum. When the head appeared in Rome, it was rattling about in a box, without any packing, and no one knew whence it came. Engelmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Taf. 20, has published this work. *Vid.* also *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 30, Note; and Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 400.
- P. 621.¹²¹⁰⁾ Feuerbach, *Der Vaticanische Apollon*. O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft, Populäre Aufsätze*, 1868, S. 265. Welcker, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 331. Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, S. 379. About the restorations of the Apollo Belvedere, *vid.* Thode, *Die Antiken in den Stechen Marcantonis*, Leipzig, 1882, Taf. 2.
- P. 623.¹²¹¹⁾ Stephani, *Apollo Boëdromios*, Bronze Statue in Besitz Seiner Erlaucht des Grafen Sergei Stroganoff, St. Petersburg, 1860. For Steinhauser head, *vid.* Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 8, Taf. 2; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867, S. 39; also *Das Akad. Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*, S. 78. Brunn, *Verhandlung der Philologenversammlung zu Würzburg*, 1868, S. 90. Wieseler, *Der Apollo Stroganoff und der Apollo Belvedere*, Göttingen, 1861; and Epilog über den Apollo Stroganoff und den Apollo Belvedere, *Philologus*, Bd. xxi.
- P. 625.¹²¹²⁾ *Iliad*, xv. 229.
- P. 626.¹²¹³⁾ Paus., x. 15. 2; 16. 4; 18. 7; 23. 8; vii. 20. 6.
- ¹²¹⁴⁾ C. Botticher, *Verzeichniss der Abgüsse Ant. Bildwerke in Berlin*, 1872, S. 320.
- ¹²¹⁵⁾ Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 247.
- ¹²¹⁶⁾ Kiesewitzky, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, S. 27, Taf. 5. A small repetition of the same motive as the Apollo Belvedere is in Viterbo, Hellbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, S. 259.
- P. 627.¹²¹⁷⁾ Von Duhn, "Di due donne sedente esposte nel Museo Torlonia," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879, pp. 176-200; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. xi. The Livia of the same museum is published, Tav. xii., and brings out well the changed spirit of the times. Concerning the usual decoration of *spina*, *vid.* Zangemeister, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, pp. 232-260.
- P. 628.^{1217a)} *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, by Capt. R. Murdock Smith, and Commander E. A. Porcher, London, 1864, p. 42, pl. 66. This head is thought by Prof. v. Duhn to be somewhat older than the Olympia athlete.
- P. 629.¹²¹⁸⁾ Conf. Tischbein, *Homer nach Antiken*. Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, Nos. 507, 508. On coins, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, V. 1878, Taf. i. 3, 294.
- ¹²¹⁹⁾ Hippocrates, *vid.* Brunn, *Besch. d. Glyp.* No. 155. Aristotle, *vid.* Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*, I. 20; and Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 1164, with Nachtrag, S. xviii. Anacreon, *vid.* *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. Tav. 25. Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859, p. 55. Jahn, *Abhandlung der Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1861,

- S. 726. For portraits of Euripides, *vid.* Kruger, *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, S. 2, and 1881, S. 6.
- P. 633. ^{1219a)} Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*.
¹²²⁰⁾ *Estratto dalle Notizie degli Scavi del Mese di Aprile*, 1882, "La Necropoli antichissima di Corneto-Tarquinia," Nuova Memoria di Gherardo Ghirardini, Roma, 1882, p. 76. Concerning the very early art of the Italian peoples, a mine of information is contained in *Bulletino di Palehnologia*, already numbering eight volumes, and edited by L. Pigorini and Chiervi: *vid.* also Genthe, *Etruskische Tauschhandel*, Frankfurt, 1874; and Wiberg, *Der Einfluss der klassischen Völker auf dem Norden durch den Handel*.
- ¹²²¹⁾ Von Duhn, *Zur Geschichte Campaniens*, S. 2.
¹²²²⁾ Zanoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, 1879, Fasc. vi. *Conf.* Cordenons, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, pp. 99-115, Tav. d. agg. R. "Necropoli preromana di Este."
- P. 634. ^{1222a)} Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1881, vol. i. p. liii.
- ¹²²³⁾ This will be seen by comparing the pictures from these tombs in the *Mon. d. Inst.* with photographs from Pisa. Prof. v. Duhn first called my attention to this strange coincidence.
- P. 635. ¹²²⁴⁾ Furtwängler, *Die Bronze v. Olympia*, S. 74; and also Helbig, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 264.
¹²²⁵⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 152.
- P. 636. ¹²²⁶⁾ Furtwängler, *op. c.* S. 75: *vid.* also Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge*, etc., S. 209.
- ¹²²⁷⁾ Furtwängler, *op. c.* S. 74. Athenaios, 15, p. 700c; and Soph., *Ai.* 17.
- ¹²²⁸⁾ Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 529.
- ¹²²⁹⁾ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1862, p. 274; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vi., vii., Tav. lxxii. Concerning wooden temples, *vid.* Gamurrini, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 147.
- P. 637. ¹²³⁰⁾ This old stele is published by Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, serie vi. Tav. A. Winged lions were found at the entrance to the round chamber at Poggio Gajella. Dennis, *op. c.* vol. ii. p. 352; *vid.* also *Bull. d. Inst.* 1849, p. 9; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832, p. 273.
- ^{1230a)} Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 346, Taf. 15.
- P. 638. ¹²³¹⁾ *Conf.* Note 145. Very recently, on the Esquiline, have been found fragments of a hitherto unnoticed glazed ware, doubtless traceable to the Phœnicians, and also met with in Etruscan graves: *vid.* Dressel, *Ann. d. Inst.* pp. 5-58, and Tav. d. agg. A-G; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. 37.
- ^{1231a)} Very many of these figures are met with in the Etruscan collections of Italy; and the British Museum has some very good specimens of this shocking abnormality in art.
- ¹²³²⁾ Brunn, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 361.
- P. 640. ¹²³³⁾ Brunn, *op. c.*
- P. 641. ¹²³⁴⁾ Brunn, *I Relievi delle urne Etrusche*, vol. i. Tav. i.-xvi. 1870, has collected these different types, showing conclusively the thoroughly mechanical mode of working prevalent in Etruria.
- P. 642. ¹²³⁵⁾ Gozzadini, *Intorno agli scavi archeologici fatti dal Sig. A. Veli presso Bologna*, "Di un antica Necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese," i. and ii. 1865-70.
- P. 643. ^{1235a)} *Vid.* Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, Tav. 9, 10. *Conf.* remarks made by v. Duhn on a Phineus-vase at Würzburg, *Heidelberger Festschrift zu 36 Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Carlsruhe*, 1882, S. 109-124.
- P. 644. ¹²³⁶⁾ Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 154. Helbig, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, S. 265-268.
- ¹²³⁷⁾ Marquardt und Mommsen, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, Bd. vii. J. Marquardt, *Das Privat Leben der Römer*, i. S. 239.
- P. 645. ¹²³⁸⁾ Friedländer, "Der Luxus der Todtenbestattung im alten Rom," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1880.
- ¹²³⁹⁾ Marquardt, *op. c.* i. S. 344.
- ¹²⁴⁰⁾ L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antoninen*, v. ed. Leipzig, Bd. iii. S. 200.
- ¹²⁴¹⁾ For an account of these Roman plunderings of Greek lands, *vid.* Völkel, *Ueber die Wegführung der alten Kunstwerke aus den eroberten Ländern nach Rom*, 1798. F. C. Petersen, *Einleitung in das Studium d. Archæologie*, S. 28, translated from the Danish of Friedrichsen, 1829. Urlichs, "Griechische Statuen im republikanischen Rom," *13 Program des Wagnerischen Instituts zu Würzburg*, 1880. For a vivid account of the gorgeous triumphs of the Romans, *vid.* Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatika*, or "Architectural Medals of Classical Antiquity," London, 1859, p. 205.
- P. 649. ¹²⁴²⁾ In Friedländer, *op. c.* Bd. iii. S. 156-281, are collected the majority of the facts which give us the picture of this age, and the Latin sources whence derived, with exact citations.
- P. 652. ^{1242a)} The most vivid picture of an ancient villa is given by a villa in Herculaneum, where papyrus-books were found: *vid.* Di Petra e Comparetti, *La Villa di Pisoni*, Torino, Firenze, Roma, 1883, fol. Here a plan is given with all the bronze heads and statues in their original places. These works now adorn the Naples Museum.
- Concerning the coin, *vid.* Donaldson, *op. c.* No. 57. Still another Roman coin, with a similar type, but not of Augustus, is represented in *Descriptions Historiques des Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain communément appelées*

- Médailles Impériales*, par Henry Cohen, Paris, 1880, ii. ed. p. 94.
- P. 652. ¹²⁴³) L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, ii. ed. Berlin, 1865, S. 774, 784, 788-790, Anm. 1.
- ^{1243a}) Cohen, op. c. pp. 80, 82.
- P. 655. ¹²⁴⁴) Jordan, "De Larum imaginibus," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1862, pp. 300-309; 1863, pp. 121-134; 1882, pp. 70-73, Tav. d. agg. M, N. One such figure is seen borne in the religious procession, from Augustus' *Ara Pacis*, Fig. 277 of our illustrations.
- ¹²⁴⁵) Lanciani, "Notes from Rome," *Athenaeum*, June 30 and July 28, 1883.
- P. 656. ¹²⁴⁶) Vid. Charles C. Perkins, *Tuscan Sculptors, their Lives, Works, and Times*, 1864, vol. i. p. xxvii.
- ¹²⁴⁷) Friedländer, op. c. Bd. iii. p. 198.
- ¹²⁴⁸) Friedländer, op. c. S. 224, Anhang i.
- P. 657. ¹²⁴⁹) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 3 vols. The Venus Genetrix type is noticed, Nos. 711-716. The Louvre replica is engraved, Clarac, *Musée du Sculpture*, pl. 339, No. 1449: vid. also Kekulé, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Ost.* iii. S. 2.
- ¹²⁵⁰) Benndorf und Schoene, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, Leipzig, 1867, S. 91.
- ¹²⁵¹) Vid. Dutschke, *Antike Bildwerke Nord Italiens*, Bd. 1-3, No. 548. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, S. 13.
- P. 658. ¹²⁵²) Plin., xxxiv. 52. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* Bd. i. S. 536.
- P. 659. ¹²⁵³) Paus., vi. 4. 5; 12. 9; and x. 34. 8. Th. Homolle, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 390. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 366.
- ¹²⁵⁴) Homolle, op. c. pl. xii. This statue is unfortunately still exposed to the elements, and yet shows signs of color in some parts.
- ¹²⁵⁵) Paus., i. 2. 5; vi. 4. 5.
- ¹²⁵⁶) Julius, "Die Reste des Denkmals des Eubulides," *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.* vii. S. 81, Taf. v. Milchhofer, *Die Museen Athens*, S. 12.
- ¹²⁵⁷) Vid. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 2214, 2215; and Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antiq.* T. iii. pl. 2.
- P. 660. ¹²⁵⁸) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 38. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, S. 249. Prof. v. Duhn writes me: "By the same Apollonios, without doubt, was executed the bronze Amazon coming from the same site as the Doryphoros head, and a pendant to the Doryphoros."
- P. 661. ¹²⁵⁹) Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, S. 135.
- ¹²⁶⁰) Weisäcker, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, S. 262.
- P. 662. ^{1260a}) Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, iii. ed. Bd. ii. There is another marble vase by Sosibios in Naples. The graceful water-horn discovered almost intact, in 1872, on the Esquiline, should not be forgotten. On it was once the name of an Athenian master ("of Athens" alone remaining); and about the mouth are beautiful representations in relief of excited Mænads. Its standard is also of exquisite shape; and, altogether, it must have formed a beautiful decoration for the Roman water-works at the so-called Trophies of Marius, where it was found: vid. *Bulletino della Commissione Arch. Comunale*, Roma.
- P. 662. ¹²⁶¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxvi. 39.
- ¹²⁶²) Brunn, *Gesch. d. Griech. Kunst.* i. S. 595.
- ¹²⁶³) This very secondary group of sculptors, and the models they drew upon, have been most ably and fully treated by Kekulé, *Die Gruppe des Menelaos*, 1870; "Statua Pompeiana di Apollino," *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 56; and Flasch, "Vorbilder einer Römischen Kunstschule," *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, S. 119, and accompanying plates.
- P. 663. ¹²⁶⁴) Conze, etc., *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Bd. ii. S. 23, 24, Taf. viii.
- ¹²⁶⁵) Head, *A Guide to the Gold and Silver Coins*, etc., pl. 41. 5, 8, etc.
- ¹²⁶⁶) Matz und Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, Bd. i. No. 179.
- P. 665. ¹²⁶⁷) This was proved by Waldstein, *conf.* Note 498. There is reason to believe that the head from Ventnor came originally from Greece.
- ¹²⁶⁸) Schreiber, *Die Antik. Bild. d. Villa Ludovisi*, S. 89, gives all the names and literature concerning this much-disputed group.
- P. 666. ¹²⁶⁹) Conze, *Zeitschrift für Ost. Gymnasien*, 1870, S. 870; and *Sitz. Ber. d. Kön. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Cl.* 1872, S. 329, and 1875, S. 617.
- ¹²⁷⁰) Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 155, 156; xxxvi. 33.
- ¹²⁷¹) Plin., *N. H.* xxxiv. 45-47. Suetonius, *Nero*, 31. Hierodotus, i. 15. 9 (ed. Bekker).
- P. 668. ¹²⁷²) This figure is well illustrated by Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antiq.* iii. pl. 5, 6. An inscription discovered in Delos, 1882, may throw new light upon this master (vid. "Ilavvaonik," July-Aug. 1882, p. 648), and allow us to place Agasias back nearer the time of Pergamon's glory than has hitherto been done.
- P. 669. ¹²⁷³) Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 2287-2289.
- P. 671. ¹²⁷⁴) Bernoulli, *Römische Iconographie*.
- ¹²⁷⁵) Von Duhn, "Ueber einige Bas-reliefs und ein Römisches Bauwerk der ersten Kaiserzeit," *Miscellanea Capitolina*, pp. 11-16; and *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881, pp. 302-342, Tav. d. agg. V, W.; and *Mon. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Tav. 34-36.
- P. 675. ¹²⁷⁶) U. Köhler, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863, p. 432.
- P. 676. ¹²⁷⁷) Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5, 15.
- ¹²⁷⁸) Philippi, "Ueber Römische Triumphal Reliefs," *Abhand. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Cl.* Bd. vi. S. 247.

- P. 677. ¹²⁷⁹) Philippi, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875, p. 42. *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Tav. 21.
- ^{1279a}) Bartoli et Belloni, *Arcus Triumphalis*.
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SCULPTURE.

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| <p>AGE OF ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 600 B. C. to about 450 B. C.</p> <p>(1) Beginnings of archaic sculpture (from 600 to 500 B. C.). Development of working in marble. The coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean the main centres. Sculptors' names preserved: Rhoikos, Theodoros, Bathycles, Endoios, Archemos and his sons, Smilis and Alxenor, Dipoinos, and Skyllis.</p> | <p>Apollo, from Theia, 193 (N.); Apollo, from Orchomenos, 212 (N.); nude male statues, 191 (N.); Spata sphinx, 215 (N.); archaic female statuettes, 190 (A.); figures with Diptychon, 215 (A.); seated Athena, 214 (A.); colossal helmeted Athena head, 214 (A.); relief of disk-bearer, 216 (V.); Lyseas' tombstone, 218 (T.); Aristion's tombstone, 217 (T.); Abdera relief, 274 (N.); Alxenor's relief, 193 (N.); funeral repast, 205 (V.); archaic clay tablet with <i>prothesis</i>, 491.</p> | | <p>Naxos Apollo, in bronze, 191, 251; <i>draped figures from Acropolis</i>, 190; vase with painting of bronze-caster's shop, 198; Ista, with goat-bearing figures, 202; <i>Melign head</i>, 208; bronze statuette with short jacket, 208; bronze Aphrodite from Kythera, 209; <i>Megara pediment</i>, 211, 360 (O. A.).</p> | <p><i>Frise of so-called Harpy monument</i>, 185; <i>Assos reliefs</i>, 182, 639; <i>Apollo, from Thera</i>, 193; <i>Apollo from Orchomenos</i>, 212, <i>tombstone by Alxenor</i>, 193; <i>Aristion's tombstone</i>, 217; <i>Athena statue</i>, 214; <i>Spartan reliefs</i>, 205; <i>Melopes, from Selinus</i>, 220.</p> |
| <p>(2) ADVANCED ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 500 B. C., to about 450 B. C., age of the Persian War.</p> <p>Athens rises to importance. Sculptors connected with Athens: Critios and Nesiotos, Myron, and Calamis, and Pheidias as a youth.</p> <p>Principal names in Argos and Sikyon, Ageladas and Canachos; in Ægina, Onatas and Callon.</p> <p>Paionios from Mende, and Alcamenes from Lemnos, work in Olympia, probably as young men.</p> | <p>Key-bearing priestess, (Cleiduchos), 252, 273 (V.); Relief with Tyrant-Slayers, 286; Lady mounting chariot, 288, Note 518 (A.); Altar with Hermes, 288, 290; Nude boy discovered on Acropolis, 289 (A.); Vase with Marsyas relief, 291 (N.).</p> | <p><i>Boy extracting thorn</i>, 323, 612; <i>Discobolos after Myron</i>, 295; <i>Discobolos about to hurl disk</i>, 296.</p> | <p>So-called Melos terracottas, 235, 272; Dodona bronze, 248; <i>Ægina tombstone</i>, 248; <i>Phormis' head</i>, 255 (O. A.); <i>Olympia East Pediment and Gruttner's restoration</i>, 262 (O. A.); <i>Olympia West Pediment and Gruttner's restoration</i>, 266, 312 (O. A.); <i>Olympia Melopes</i>, 256 (O. A.); Vase with painting of centaur conflict, 272; <i>Lions' heads from Olympia</i>, 250 (O. A.); <i>Præstium cuneiform</i>, 279.</p> | <p><i>Figures from east and west pediments of Olympia</i>, 262, 266, 332; <i>Olympia Melopes</i>, 256; <i>Lions' heads</i>, 256; <i>So-called Apollo on omphalos</i>, 262; <i>Lady stepping into chariot</i>, 288, Note 518. <i>Statues from the pediments of Ægina Temple</i>, 239, 263, 360; <i>So-called Melos terracottas</i>, 235, 272; <i>Boy extracting thorn</i>, 323, 612; <i>So-called Penelope</i>, 235; <i>Discobolos after Myron</i>, 295; <i>Discobolos preparing to hurl disk</i>, 296.</p> |

SOIL AND IN ETRURIA.

| FLORENCE: Uffizi (U.), Loggia dei Lanzi (L.). | LONDON: British Museum. | MUNICH: Glyptothek and Antiquarium | NAPLES: National Museum. | PARIS: Louvre, Ecole des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.) | ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat.), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.). |
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| | Island stones, 147; fragment of entrance to the so-called Treasury of Atreus in Mykene, 143. Small vase with scene like one on Homeric shield, 159. Note 222; vases with marine designs from Rhodes, etc., 146; So-called Dipyion vases, 148; vases with geometric decoration, 148. Red-ware vases, 159. | | | | Contents of Regolini Galassi tomb, 637, 115 (V.). |

GREEK SCULPTURE.

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| | Statues from Miletos, 179, 200; reliefs of Ephesos columns, 181, 182; lions' heads from Ephesos, 181; Lykian frieze with cocks and hens, 185; Lykian frieze with horse-tailed satyr, 185; Ilarry monument reliefs, 185; Draped statues from Acropolis, 194; so-called Apollo, 212. Archaic vases with birth of Athena, 350. | So-called Apollo of Tenes, 204; bronze facing of chariot from Etruria, but probably Greek work, 636. | | Sculptures from Asosos temple, 182, 636; two so-called Apollos from Actium, 212; seated statues from Necropolis at Miletos, 180, 216. | |
| One of the Tyrant-Slayers, 286 (U.). | Relief of procession with chariots from Lykia, 233; Sphinxes from Lykian tomb, 233; So-called Melos terra-cotta, 235, 278; Strangford Apollo, 248; Bronze statuette bearing deer, 251; So-called Apollo Gouffier, 663; North Greek coins, 274; Locri terra-cotta reliefs, 279; Tarentum terra-cotta reliefs, 279; Verona statuette, 280; Aphrodite and Eros as mirror-handle, 280; Mirror-handle with lion, 280; Prize vase with painting of Tyrant-Slayers, 288; Marsyas from Patras, after Myron, 291; Discobolos hurling disk, 296; Discobolos after Myron, 291. | Statues from east pediment of Aegina, 239, 263, 350; Griffins from Aegina Temple, 232; Figures of central acroterion, 246; Ivory eye from Aegina, 246, Note 422; Oil-dropping athlete, 295. | Tyrant-Slayers, 286; Bronze Dancers from Herculeum, 233; Free imitation of same type as Alxenor's stele, 193, Note 298. | So-called Melos terra-cotta, 235, 272; Apollo, Nymphs, etc., from Thasos, 236; Philis' tombstone, 236, 276, 352, 501; Parts of Olympia metopes, 257; Relief from Pharsalos, 275. | So-called Penelope, 225 (V.); Possible copy of Canachos' Apollo, 251 (V.); So-called Leucothea relief, 233 (A.); Marsyas, 291, (Lat.); Hestia Giustiniani, 253 (T.); Bronze boy extracting thorn, 223, 612 (C.); Girl runner, 253 (V.); Discobolos preparing to hurl disk, 296 (V.); Discobolos after Myron, 293 (Pallazzo Lancelotti and V.). |

AGE OF PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE,

| AGE OF MONUMENTS. | ATHENS: Acropolis (A.), Hagia Triada (H. T.), Polytechnicon (P.), National Museum (N.), Theseion (T.), Varva- kion (V.). | WASHINGTON: Cor- coran Gallery of Art. | BERLIN: Olympia Aus- stellung (O. A.), Die Königliche Museen. | BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts. |
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| <p>PERFECTED GREEK SCULPTURE, from about 450 B.C. to about 400 B.C. Golden period of art. The great masters whose prime fell in this time were Pheidias, Alcámenes, and Agoracritos, in Athens, Polycleitos in Argos, and Paionios from Mende, who worked for Olympia</p> | <p>Athena Parthenos, 309 (N.); Metopes of Parthenon, 330 (A.); Frieze of Parthenon gods, 337 (A.); Vase-bearers from Parthenon frieze, 342 (A.); Goats from frieze of Parthenon, 347 (A.); Horsemen in frieze of Parthenon, 345 (A.). Olive-tree from pediment of Parthenon, 356 (A.); Parts of pedimental figures in Parthenon, 351, 357, 359 (A.); Metopes of Theseus Temple, 365; Friezes of Theseus Temple, 366; Erechtheion maidens, 369 (A.); Erechtheion frieze, 368 (A.); Athena Nike Temple frieze, 372 (A.); Athena Nike Temple balustrade, 374 (A.); Votive relief to Asclepius, 378; Tomb stele of Parthenon age, 382 (N.); Votive relief to Nymphs and Pan, 378 (A.); Relief of treasury accounts, 381 (A.).</p> | <p>Picture by Sanford R. Gifford of the ruins of the Parthenon; <i>Frieze of the Parthenon</i>, 333-349; <i>A few of the pedimental figures from the Parthenon</i>, 349-364; <i>Bust of Pericles, probably after Cressilas</i>, 324.</p> | <p>Pergamon colossus of Athena Parthenos, 310, 313, 593; Aphroditic head, probably traceable to Alcámenes, 320, 370; Amazon, 390.</p> | <p><i>Athena Parthenos</i>, 309; <i>Frieze of Parthenon</i>, 334; <i>A few of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon</i>, 349-364; <i>A few of the metopes of Parthenon</i>, 330; <i>Frieze of Apollo Temple at Phigaleia</i>, 398, 427. <i>Parts of balustrade of Athena Nike Temple</i>, 374; <i>Amazon Mattei</i>, 300; <i>Tombstone called the Amazon</i>, 496; <i>Diadumenos Parnese</i>, 388; <i>Paionios' Nike</i>, 271, 402, 559.</p> |

AGE OF SCOPAS,

| AGE OF SCOPAS, PRAXITLES, AND LYSIPPOS, from about 400 B.C. to about 323 B.C. The masters of note in Athens were Kephisodotos, Scopas, Praxiteles, Silanion, etc. In Sikyon, Lysippos flourished. Athenian masters employed extensively outside of Attica. | Dexileos' tomb, 496 (H. T.); Hegeso's tomb, 499 (H. T.); Tombstone of hunter, 496 (N.); Tombstone of Damasistrate, 497 (N.); Siren from tomb, 494; Tombstone of Polyxene, 498 (N.); Tombstone of Amencleia, 499 (N.); Tombstone with mother and infant, 498 (N.); Funereal repast, 504 (N.); Hermes from Andros, 530 (N.); Votive relief to Asclepius, 506 (A.); Vignette on statue of state, 507 (A.); Cairo relief, 511; Tomb monument in shape of lekythos, 505 (N.); Plaster moulds, 519 (V.). | <i>Hermes and babe Dionysos</i> , 437-446; <i>Faun after Praxiteles</i> , 448; <i>Apollo Sauroctonos</i> , 445, 453; <i>Eros centocelle</i> , 450; <i>Silenos tending the babe Dionysos</i> , 445, 658; <i>Sophocles</i> , 489; <i>Niobe's daughter</i> , 476; <i>Colossal head from Melos</i> , 530; <i>Apoxyomenos</i> , 516; <i>Alexander head</i> , 515. | Niobe's daughter restored as Psyche, 478; Siren tombstone, 495, 499; Tanagra statuettes, 525; Mirror decoration with Eros and Psyche, 520; Philoctetes relief, 520; Vase with Hypnos and Thanatos, 536, Note 1068; Tanagra statuettes, 525. | <i>Eirene and Phutos</i> , 433; <i>Hermes and babe Dionysos</i> , 437-446; <i>Apollo Sauroctonos</i> , 445, 453; <i>Silenos and babe Dionysos</i> , 445, 658; <i>Faun of Praxiteles</i> , 448; <i>Hermes from Andros</i> , 520; <i>Sophocles</i> , 489; <i>Marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite</i> , 459; <i>Statues from Mausoleum</i> , 473; <i>Reliefs from Mausoleum</i> , 468; <i>Niobe and daughter</i> , 470; <i>Niobe's daughter of Laticum</i> , 478; <i>Dexileos' tomb monument</i> , 496; <i>Attic stele</i> , 496; <i>Seated Aras</i> , 460; <i>Apoxyomenos</i> , 516; <i>Tanagra statuettes</i> , 525. |
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OR OF PHEIDIAS AND OF POLYCLEITOS.

| FLORENCE: Uffizi (U.) Loggia dei Lanzi (L.). | LONDON: British Museum. | MUNICH: Glypto- thek and Antiqua- rium. | NAPLES: Na- tional Museum. | PARIS: Louvre, École des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.) | ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat.), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.). |
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| Doryphoros after Poly- cleitos, 385; Idolino, 388. | Shield of Athena Parthe- nos, 312; Metopes from Parthenon, 330; Originals and casts of frieze of Parthenon, 334-349; Statues from east pediment of Parthenon, 350; Statues from west pediment of Parthenon, 356; <i>Frieze of Theseus Temple</i> , 365. One Caryatid from Erech- theion, 369; Part of Athena Nike frieze, 372; Diadumenos Far- nese, 388; Diadumenos Vaison, 388; Part of Agornkritos' Nemesis, 318, Note 603; Bust of Pericles, 324; Frieze of Apollo Temple at Phigaleia, 398, 417; Part of Statue of Apollo from Phigaleia, 398; Me- topes of temple at Phigaleia, 398; So-called Nereid monument, 408, 409; Pylæus's tomb, 408; Mikaili tomb, 410; <i>Thes- saly tomb</i> , 410; Gergentii re- lief, 423. | Bust of Pericles after Cresilas, 324; Re- lief, imitating a part of the balus- trade of the Athena Nike Temple, 377. | Doryphoros after Polykleitos, 385; Hera head, colossal, perhaps after Polykleitos, 392. | Metope of Parthe- non, 330; Slab from frieze of Par- thenon, 339, 235; Statue of Athena called Minerva Medici, 315 (E. B. A.); Aphrodite with apple, per- haps after Alca- menes, 320, 370. Treasury relief, 381, 507. | Relief of Boeotian stone, 402 (V.); Tombstone called the Amazon, 496 (A.); Aphrodite with ap- ple, probably after Alcamenes, 320, 370 (B.); Relief, imita- tion of balustrade Nikes, 377 (V.); Amazon Mattei, 300 (V.); Amazon, 323 (C.); Doryphoros after Polykleitos, 385 (V.). |

PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPOS.

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| Niobe and her family, 476 (U.). | Lions of Mausoleum, 467; Friezes of Mausoleum, 468; Rider group from Mausoleum, 472; Heads from Mausoleum, 473; Statues from Mausoleum, 471; Chariot and horses from Mausoleum, 472; Niobe relief, 478; <i>Frieze of Lysistrates' choragic monument</i> , 480; De- meter from Chios, 531; Marble hands and feet from Chios, 532; Colossal head from Melos, 530; Siren tearing hair, 492; Toys, 493; Alexander head, 515; <i>Head of Chironia Lion</i> , 523; Tanagra terra-cottas, 506; Siris bronzes, 527; Tarentum bronzes, 528; Ephesus drums, 534; Ephesus sculptured blocks, 536. | Eirene and Plutos, 413; Replica of Praxiteles' Faun, 448; Variation on Cnidian Aphrodite, 452; Marriage of Poseidon and Am- phitrite, 459; Fall- on Niobe son, 477; Alexander restored, 50. | | Apollo Sauroctonos, 445; Faun by Praxiteles, 448; Head of Cnidian Aphrodite, 452; Youngest son of Niobe, and peda- gogue, 477; Azara bust of Alexander, 515; Tanagra stat- uettes, 525; Arch- aistic frieze from Samotheke, 663. | Apollo Sauroctonos, 445, 453 (V.A.); Variation on Cnidian Aphrodite, 452 (V.); Faun of Praxiteles, 448 (C.); Eros re- stored as Apollo, Notes 859 (C.); Eros Cento-cello, 450 (V.); Silenos tending babe Dionysos, 445, 658 (V.); Niobe's youngest son, 477 (V.); Niobe's daugh- ter fleeing, 478 (V.); Niobe's son, 477 (C.); Maenad in re- lief, 457 (C.); Gany- mede and eagle, 461 (V.); Pluto, 462 (V.); Poseidon, 510 (Lat.); Apoxyome- nos, 526 (V.); Seat- ed Ares, 459, 460 (L.); Sophocles, 489 (Lat.). |
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THE HELLEN-

| AGE OF MONUMENTS. | ATHENS: Acropolis (A.), Hagia Triada (H.T.), Polytechnicon (P.), National Museum (N.), Theseion (T.), Varvakion (V.). | WASHINGTON: Corcoran Gallery of Art. | BERLIN: Olympia Ausstellung (O. A.), Die Königl. Museen. | BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts. |
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| <p>THE HELLENISTIC AGE, from about 323 B.C. to about 133 B.C. Prominence of Pergamon and of Rhodes. In Athens, sons of Praxiteles flourished at the opening of this age; and in Sikyon, the scholars of Lysippos. The names of a few sculptors from Asia Minor preserved are from the third century B.C.,—Stratonikos, Antigonos, Pyromachos, Isogenos, and from the second century B.C., Apollonios and Tauriscos, of Tralles. From Rhodes, the names of Chares, from the early part of the second century; and of Agesandros, Athenodoros and Polydoros, probably of about 100 B.C.,—are preserved.</p> | <p>Demosthenes' head, 547; Votive reliefs to Pan and Nymphs, 549 (A.); Votive reliefs to Kybele, 549; Tower of Winds, 551.</p> | <p><i>The Dying Galatian of the Capitol</i>, 545, 566; <i>Boy with goose</i>, 612; <i>Praying boy</i>, 552; <i>Aphrodite from Melos</i>, 370, 442, 545, 596-600; <i>Bust of Menelaos from Hadrian's Villa</i>, 617; <i>Wrestlers</i>, 613; <i>Homer</i>, 629; <i>Sleeping Ariadne</i>, 617; <i>Venus Callipygos</i>, 617; <i>Crouching Aphrodite</i>, 617; <i>Demosthenes</i>, 547; <i>Socrates</i>, 629; <i>Apollo Belvedere</i>, 353, 621; <i>Artemis (Diana of Versailles)</i>, 627; <i>Laocoon</i>, 602.</p> | <p>Praying boy, 552; Kybele reliefs, 549. Bronze drapery from Kyzikos, Note 1117; Great frieze from altar at Pergamon, 573-591, 606, 625; Small frieze from great altar at Pergamon, 591; Statues from great altar at Pergamon, 592; Statuettes from Stoa of Attalos II., 592; Trophy reliefs from Stoa of Attalos II., 593; Reproductions of these from Pergamon, 593; Satyr from Pergamon, 614; Pergamon statue with pose like that of Aphrodite of Melos, 598; Pergamon copy of Athena Parthenos, 593; Marryns, 617.</p> | <p><i>Praying boy</i>, 552. <i>Statue of Demosthenes</i>, 546. <i>Demosthenes' head</i>, 547; <i>Crouching Venus</i>, 617; <i>Boy with goose</i>, 612; <i>Dying Galatian</i>, 545, 566, <i>Attalid statuettes</i>, 570; <i>Aphrodite of Melos</i>, 370, 442, 545, 596-600; <i>Barbarus Faun</i>, 616; <i>Artemis of Versailles</i>, 627; <i>Apollo Belvedere</i>, 353, 621; <i>Menander</i>, 546; <i>Laocoon</i>, 602, 361.</p> |

SCULPTURE UNDER ROMAN DOMINION.

| GRACO-ROMAN MONUMENTS, OR SCULPTURE UNDER ROMAN DOMINION, from about 150 B.C. to about 312 A.D. In Athens, a renaissance of art about 150 B.C. Sculptures removed to Rome. Portraiture emphasized. Reigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian, especially productive. Final decline of artistic power under the later Roman emperors, and signal fall by Constantine's time. | Monuments by Eubulides, 659; Portraits of Roman emperors Hadrian, Claudius, Marcus Aurelius, 652 (N.); Sarcophagi, 650 (N.) | <p><i>Bust of Julius Caesar</i>, 675; <i>Venus di Medici</i>, 657; <i>Ostracott Zeus</i>, 305; <i>Belvedere Torso</i>, 361, 659; <i>Borghese warrior</i>, called also <i>gladiator</i>, 667; <i>Bust of barbarian from Trajan's forum</i>, 681; So-called <i>Germanicus</i>, 660; So-called <i>Polymnia</i>, 530; <i>Caryatid</i>, 660; <i>Antonius</i>, 687; <i>Portraits of late emperors</i>, <i>Antoninus Pius</i>, <i>Commodus</i>, <i>Marcus Aurelius</i>, 687; <i>Caracalla</i>, 693.</p> | <p>Nude figure of type of Stephanos athletic, 662; Portrait of <i>Caracalla</i>, 693.</p> | <p><i>Bust of Cæsar</i>, 671; <i>Venus di Medici</i>, 657; <i>Aphrodite of Homer</i>, 669; <i>Statue of Augustus</i>, 674; <i>Relief from Arch of Titus</i>, 677; <i>Reliefs from Trajan's Column</i>, 681; <i>Antonius' head</i>, 687; <i>Bust of Roman emperor</i>, 689; <i>Ritruan orator</i>, 643.</p> |
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ISTIC AGE.

| FLORENCE: Uffizi, Loggia dei Lanzi (L.). | LONDON: British Museum. | MUNICH: Glyptothek and Antiquarium. | NAPLES: National Museum. | PARIS: Louvre, Ecole des Beaux Arts (E. B. A.). | ROME: Villa Albani (A.), Villa Borghese (B.), Capitoline Mus. (C.), Villa Ludovisi (L.), Lateran Mus. (Lat.), Torlonia Mus. (T.), Vatican (V.). |
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| Marsyas, 617; So-called Dying Alexander, 593; So-called Thucydides, 618 (L. L.); So-called Menelaos and Patroklos, 617 (L. L.); The Wrestlers, 613. | Dionysos, from Thrasylos' choric monument, 549; Bronze from Paranythia, 556; Portrait bronze from Kyrene, 628; Homer head, 629; Boy extracting thorn, 612; Boys playing at knucklebones, 389; Great bronze head of gold-cress, 620, 622; Marbles from India, 609. | Boy with goose, 612; Marble head of severe style, 619; Bronze satyr, 615; Satyr chasing tail, 616; Barberini Faun, 616. | So-called portrait of Plato, 481; Note 61. Small statues like Attalos' gifts to Athens, 570; Homer heads, 629; Aeschines, statue of, 629; Venus Callipygos, 617; Farnese Bull, 594-596. | Draped tomb figure from Kyrene, 530; Nike from Samothrake, 545, 557; One Attalid figure, 570; Aphrodite from Melos, 369, 442, 543, 595-600; Boy with goose, 612; Sleeping Hermaphrodite, 617; Marsyas, 617; Artemis (Diana of Versailles), 627; Socrates, 629. | Seated lady, 627, 319 (T.); Dying Galatian, 545, 566 (C.); Galatian and wife, 566 (L.); So-called Dying Medusa, 618 (L.); Nymph and satyr, 547, Note 1085 (L.); Tyche and Orontes, 553, 559 (V.); Attalid statuette, 570 (V.); Boy with goose, 612 (C.); Crouching Aphrodite, 617 (T., L.); Aesop, 513 (A.); Actors, 611 (A.); Marsyas, 617 (A.); Socrates, 629 (A.); Diogenes, 629 (A.); Dancing faun, 616 (B.); Anacreon, 629 (B.); Alcaeus, 629 (B.); Alexander, 515 (C.); Demosthenes, 547 (V.); Menander, 546 (V.); Poseidippus, 546 (V.); Fisherman, 611 (V.); Sleeping Ariadne, 617 (V.); Nile, 607 (V.); Fragments of Menelaos and Patroklos, 617 (V.); Statuette restored as Ceres, 620 (V.); Apollo Belvedere, 353, 621 (V.); Laocoön, 602, 361 (V.). |

OR GRÆCO-ROMAN ART.

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BRESCIA: Victory writing on shield (probably about 50-100 A.D.), 684; Portrait bust of Julia, daughter of Titus, 686.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND: Colossal Kistophoros from beginning of Hellenistic age, 548.

CONSTANTINOPLE: Cyprus Heracles, 121; Snakes from Tripod of Plataiai, 224.

DRESDEN: Oil-dropping athlete, 295; babe Plutos, 434; Niobe's son, 477; Archaistic Artemis, 665; Archaistic altar basis with Apollo and Heracles struggling for tripod, 252, 665.

MADRID: Head inscribed Pherekydes (probable copy of one of the Tyrant-Slayers of about 480 B.C.), 287; Puteal with birth of Athena, 350; Sleeping Ariadne, 617.

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